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IN advance of the publication of the terms to be imposed upon Austria, their character must be a mere matter of surmise. But it is reported from Paris that President Wilson likes the Austrian peace even less than the German. The German peace, judged by the published summaries—which are said to be a good job of whitewashing—is less in accord with the Fourteen Points than was the peace of Brest-Litovsk. The Austrian peace will be worse, and the Bulgarian peace may be anything worse. As for the peace with Turkey, all signs indicate that it will follow Mark Twain's rule for carving a chicken according to the German method: "Take an ax."

THE ax is all the Turks deserve. But Turkey happens to include the territories of more than one nationality that, if dissected out with intelligence and justice, would be quite capable of developing into self-dependence and happiness. That is especially the case with the Armenians. Let them have what is rightfully theirs from the Mediterranean to the Caucasus, and another generation would see in this quarter a well balanced, prosperous state, helping to extend civilization where chaos has reigned through a millennium. There is little hope for a unified Armenia under the ax carving method. The western imperial nations will want a chunk of the white meat of Armenia along with the dark meat of the Turkish highlands.

PERHAPS, however, Turkey is not to be divided up at all, but is to be held together, with or without a "mandatory." That is said to be the solution that is finding favor with the British. The Mohammedan world, from Morocco to the Philippines, is restless under the prospective humiliation of the Sultan, and that restlessness is a very serious matter for the imperial rulers of Egypt and India. If the Peace Conference had given evidence of a determination to inaugurate a new world order, in which all subject nations might hope gradually to acquire independence, the reduction of Turkey to its natural elements might have been safe policy. But since the peace settlement has assumed the aspect of another stage in the process of imperial aggrandizement of the western Powers, the eastern races are inclined to make common cause with Turkey.

ALLIED policy in Russia is now represented as taking a different angle. For weeks there have been rumors that as soon as peace with Germany was made, the Allies proposed to recognize the government of Admiral Kolchak at Omsk as the de facto government of All-Russia. It is now reported that Kolchak's regime will be recognized as the government of all "non-Bolshevik Russia." That is, Siberia. The Allies are less ready than the correspondents reported them to be, to aid Kolchak in the task of getting to Moscow—and staying there. Apparently their policy is to recognize Kolchak in Siberia, and then wait for a time to see what happens. Meantime there are signs that Kolchak is looking less to America and Great Britain, and more to Japan, for the support he needs to remain in power even in Siberia.

IT is an extraordinary reply which President Wilson has made to a resolution sent him by the Women's International Conference at Zürich. The Conference had protested that the terms of the treaty perpetuated the rule of force, and had asked that it be revised. The President replied: "Your message appeals both to my intellect and heart, and I sincerely desire that means may be found to comply with it, although the prospects are far from reassuring because of the immense practical difficulties." Does this mean that Mr. Wilson is not to attempt, on his return, the task of convincing American opinion that his Fourteen Points have not been shattered?

MANY of the technical advisers of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace are dissatisfied with the terms

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of the treaty. These men are students of economics and ethnology. They had prepared memoranda which have not been given serious consideration. They have seen made again the errors which they know to have caused wars in the past. Nine members of the Commission, says the United Press, have resigned in protest; a considerable majority of the others are disappointed; and one member has declared to a correspondent: "The treaty is a regular rivers and harbors bill. President Wilson found himself involved in a trading game in order to get the League of Nations through."

IT seems certain that there is soon to be more war on the frontier of Poland. George Renwick, in a dispatch to the New York Times, says that "throughout Upper Silesia burns the fire of revolt." Three-fourths of the population have participated in demonstrations against being handed over to Poland, says Mr. Renwick. "These people are not playing at tactics or at bluff. They are in deadly earnest." What makes matters worse is the policy which the Poles are said to have adopted. They have driven more than 200,000 refugees from disputed territories in Silesia and East Prussia. These people are organizing armed forces. Nothing, probably, will be done that can avert bloodshed. Poland's policy shows little respect for "the rights of nationalistic minorities." It was a similar policy, practiced by Poland's neighbors, that has done so much to disturb Europe's peace in the past.

DISPUTES with Poland are not limited to the Germans in Galicia and East Prussia. The Ukrainian Armistice Commission has lodged with the Peace Conference a vigorous protest against the Polish advance into the Ukrainian districts of Galicia—after an armistice had been agreed upon. The Allied governments are supplying Poland with food and cotton. And the Supreme Economic Council is now reported as considering whether it ought not to shut off these supplies until the Polish Diet respects the agreement it made to cease hostilities.

ASSOCIATED PRESS reports say that the Council of Four may decide to internationalize Fiume "because no other arrangement could be accepted by both Italy and Jugoslavia." That is, the most desirable solution may be accepted because all the less desirable solutions have failed. Necessity, and not deliberate purpose, is to force the Council into wisdom. But this is still no more than rumor. It has a companion rumor in the report that Italy is to be "consoled" for her loss in the Adriatic by receiving territory in Asia Minor. It is said she will be given the long strip of the Turkish coast on the Mediterranean between Dama and the Kos—plus all the region to the north, as far as the Black Sea and including such widely separated cities as Brusa, Kutabia, Konia and Sinope. To settle the clear issue in the Adriatic by any such barter of Asiatic peoples would be another disregard for principle, and an obvious one.

HAD Mr. Wilson been skillful enough and courageous enough to convert the generalities of his Fourteen Points into specific clauses for the peace treaty, there would be cause for more satisfaction in that part of his message to Congress which advocates "a genuine cooperation and partnership" of labor and capital, "based upon a real community of interest and participation in control." Mr. James M. Beck has already attacked the President for suggesting that the workman has a share in the control of what Mr. Beck calls "his master's business." Doubtless Mr. Wilson, if he chooses, can propagate ideas of domestic democracy no less brilliantly than his championship of international democracy. But he has made no specific proposal; and it is safer to look to the workers themselves for the achievement of a programme.

OPPOSITION from many quarters will certainly meet Mr. Wilson's policy for taxation. In his message the President suggested that the mainstays of American revenue "will henceforth be the income tax, the excess profits tax and the estate tax." A committee of the National Association of Manufacturers disagrees with such a programme. Taxation of personal and corporation income it declares to be "not only an unfair but an unsound public policy." For it results in an unequal distribution of the tax burden by consolidating rather than distributing contribution to the support of the government." One imagines the committee would favor a head tax, regardless of individual income, as the most democratic of all policies in taxation. It does not actually make this proposal, but it suggests the next best thing: a tariff and a consumption tax, "simple in operation, and conveniently and inexpensively administered."

CERTAINLY the Republicans have made a good start in the new session of Congress, in the speed with which they brought the federal suffrage amendment to a vote. Its easy victory in the House has encouraged all liberals. It seems likely to win in the Senate too. Opposition in the House came only from a scattered band of New England Republicans and Southern Democrats.

IN addition to their support of suffrage the Republican members of the House, in their recent caucus, came out for another measure that does them credit. They want a national budget system adopted. The rest of the caucus programme is not so encouraging. It carries planks for water power legislation, a military policy, and the development of natural resources, which are as yet entirely general. And there are some additional proposals, such as the immediate reduction of taxes and the development of a protective tariff policy, which represent principally an effort to get back to the status quo, or even the pre status quo.

A BILL providing for a national budget system has already been introduced by Mr. Good, Republican Chairman of the Appropriations Committee in the House. Mr. Good's plan provides for the preparation of estimates by a Bureau of Budget, in the office of the President. For these estimates the President would be responsible, and the plan accordingly provides an administrative coordination and a central responsibility which the present system lacks. But

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the plan only goes part way. It does nothing to prevent the addition of "pork" appropriation to the completed bill, by individual members of Congress. Mr. Good aims at forcing the administration to assume responsibility, but rather shies at setting up a similar responsibility for Congress itelf.

ONE measure introduced in the new Congress has had a good deal of public attention. Representative McArthur, of Oregon, proposes that there be three sessions of Congress instead of two—the first one to come in March following election. It is a good proposal. Under the present system the last session of each Congress is held after a new Congress has been elected. In this session responsibility is naturally at a minimum. Moreover, when the new members come in, there is less than a year before another election comes. In an effort to impress their constituents rapidly, the new members drag in pension bills and local appropriation bills with a vengeance. Mr. McArthur's bill is not a new one. He has introduced it several times before. But this time, because Congress wishes it had been in session the last two months, he may get a hearing.

"THE policy of our Navy has been agreed upon," said Mr. Daniels, on his arrival from Paris. "It is not a bluff, and it will be carried out unless the League of Nations Covenant shall give reasons for changes." In that case, unless the changes come from the American Congress, the programme is likely to be carried out. When Mr. Wilson asked Congress for a greater Navy most of the country thought he was bluffing. It turns out to have been foresight. He secured nothing from the Peace Conference to make the argument for great navies any less effective.

ADVOCATES of some system of universal military training are no doubt left with a better case than they would have had, if the peace treaty had made any beginning at general disarmament and at curbing the opportunities for imperialism. That, however, is no reason why universal training should immediately be adopted. We ought carefully to consider what the defense of our coasts demands. In 1915 the War College of the General Staff estimated that an invading force could easily be landed in the United States. Now the College says: "Our experience in this war shows that these alleged facts are quite impossible." This is a relevant factor; and with others it ought to be given consideration.

MR. JULIUS BARNES, National Grain Administrator, appeared in the Chicago Board of Trade recently, on a day when there had been a rapid break of ten or twelve cents in corn prices. Was not so sharp a break, he asked, due principally to speculation rather than to any legitimate operation of the grain exchanges as traders? The Food Control act, in Mr. Barnes's opinion, gives him power to prohibit dealing in futures altogether, and he informed the Board of Trade that he will use this power if necessary. Moreover, Mr. Barnes declared that if the prices of flour do not sharply reflect the real situation in respect to supplies, it will be necessary to bring back the 1917 food regulations which allowed only thirty days' supply to be held on hand. In making either or both of these moves Mr. Barnes will have as much popular support as he needs.

IN New York the Governor has signed a bill that increases the salary of teachers, and puts women on the same level as men. Mayor Hylan of New York City and a few other officials have raised the cry of extravagance. But most people in the state do not seem displeased with the Governor's action. Is there any better investment for a democracy than the payment of a living wage to those who are responsible for public instruction?

"Must"?

THE editorial writer of the New York Times really ought to be more careful. On Sunday, May the twenty-fifth, first sentence first leader, he blurted out an idea which reveals altogether too much.

> "The United States Senate must ratify the Treaty of Peace for the same reasons that constrain and compel the Germans to sign the instrument."

The notion of a peace dictated to victor and vanquished alike is to say the least a novelty, and a Senator might reasonably inquire whether it was the Peace Conference or the American nation which won the war. Now, of course, the Times did not mean to be as foolish as its pronouncement sounds, but what it said so crudely is really the governing idea of a host of generously minded Americans at this moment. They don't like the treaty. They know it breaks faith, and that it is largely unworkable. They realize that it is not a real peace, and they are profoundly disturbed at the thought of committing America as the guarantor of its details. But they do not know what to do about it. They are afraid that if they support the majority Senators in the plan to amend, peace will be delayed, and that the promising features of the Covenant will be wrecked, the Powers will sink back into the old isolation, and the idea of a League will be discredited. Rather than risk that result they are willing to trust the League itself to remedy wrong. And so they, like the Germans, feel they must sign on the dotted line.

Such is the power of the accomplished fact over many people's minds. But for a free people to sign away its freedom of judgment in this way has in it neither dignity nor commonsense. The issues at stake in this treaty reach far beyond the immediate convenience of any living man. The commitments taken now go far into the future, and bound up with them is the safety and happiness of mankind. To gulp them down thoughtlessly because delay and consideration are a nuisance at this moment is just about as short-sighted a view as could be held. It

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will give us the appearance but not the substance of peace, and since we are acting now as the trustees of the future, it is to the substance and to the substance alone that we must look.

First of all, we must get rid of the party nuisance. Just now it takes the form of saying that because many of the Republican Senators hate all things that emanate from Mr. Wilson, because many of these Senators are black reactionaries, therefore it is the duty of liberals to line up on the other side no matter what that side may be. There is nothing in it. There are just as many reactionaries for the Covenant as against it, just as many supporters for party reasons as there are opponents. So far as partisanship goes it is tweedledum and tweedledee, and there is as much honest progressivism in Hiram Johnson's record as there is in Woodrow Wilson's speeches. Certainly being non-partisan doesn't consist in tying oneself up blindfolded to the Democratic party because it seems so strange that a liberal and a Republican should find any common ground in a national emergency. If the New York World thinks it bewildering that, after examining the treaty and the obligations it imposes upon this country, the New Republic is in agreement with the Senators who wish to amend, we can only say that these new and temporary bedfellows are fully as agreeable to us as Mr. Burleson ever was. Being non-partisan means, if it means anything, acting on an estimate of the facts as they are presented, not on " bedfellows " and " line-ups " and epithets.

It is no time to be coerced either by the convenience of the moment or by party tags, or, it should be added, by a vested interest in opinions long held. It is a great temptation to many people who consistently have preached the gospel of the League to seize anything that can be called a League, and cling to it though the heavens fall. This is particularly true of men who have identified themselves publicly with the propaganda of the League, and who find it just a little more than they can stomach to admit that things have not turned out as they hoped. But in a democracy there is nothing healthier than just this willingness to abandon pet theories good-humoredly when they have ceased to apply. It is the only temper in which a democracy can escape the violence of party and the feuds of opinion, and there is no reason why liberals should be afraid to practice what they preach.

In defining an American policy there is no evading the complexity of the matter. The interwoven treaty and Covenant present a very difficult thing to deal with, especially for those who wish to preserve as much of a League as they can. It would seem as if those Senators who wish to separate the two are proposing an impossible thing. For since the treaties contain the substance of the law which will control the major foreign interests of the world, simply to ratify the treaties, even without the Covenant might bind the United States to assist in enforcing them in all their detail. This would seem to indicate a total rejection of the treaty and Covenant, followed by an Act of Congress declaring the state of war at an end. But the trouble with this is that it will destroy what is good in the Covenant and will result in America's moral isolation from the Allies.

There is, we believe, a clue to the right course, in a brief Associated Press dispatch dated May 22nd from Paris, saying: " The American delegation to the Peace Conference is favorably inclined to a suggestion received from Herman H. Kohlsaat of Chicago saying that a movement was under consideration by which the Senate would adopt a resolution giving its interpretation of certain articles in the Covenant of the League of Nations. It is pointed out that the effect of such a resolution would be to put on record the interpretation of the document upon which the Senate would base ratification and at the same time leave the Covenant effective as an international document." This news, if authentic, is certainly of first-rate significance, for it means bluntly that the Peace Mission is not unwilling to have the Senate extricate it from the muddle in which it finds itself. If the Senate can give its *interpretation before ratification,* the Senate can obviously define the degree of American commitment, and that for practical purposes is the immediate business in hand. By limiting the American obligation, the Senate will not only affirm publicly that an American peace has not been written, but it will alter the whole balance of forces in Europe without which no peaceful revision of this peace is at all probable.

What should be the Senate's interpretation? Roughly, we should say something like this:

> Whereas, the peace contemplated by the Treaties of Versailles represents the typical European settlement after every European war;
>
> Whereas, it is the policy of this nation not to guarantee such settlements;
>
> Whereas, an abandonment of this policy should be made only in order to participate in a settlement which is intrinsically stable, therefore, the Senate understands Article Ten and other articles and the terms of the treaty to mean that the United States is in no wise committed either as to its economic resources, its military forces, or its foreign policy to intervene in the territorial or economic arrangements of Europe or Africa.
>
> It leaves the execution of the treaty to the European Powers concerned; it will participate

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if so desired in those portions of the Covenant which are consultative in their character.

No doubt in taking such action many Senators would be inspired by a narrowly reactionary and provincial view of American responsibility for the peace of the world. That is not the essential point. What counts at this moment is not their motive but the result of their action, and the result would be two-fold. It would disentangle America from what is in all truth a real entanglement, the extent of which may be estimated by the President's statement that the proposed French alliance would merely hasten action to which we would in any case be committed. Now if under the Covenant we are thus committed to France, we are no less committed to Rumania, or Poland, or Jugoslavia, or Italy, or the Kingdom of the Hedjaz. The preservation of every European frontier would become an American obligation.

Would the withdrawal of this obligation leave them all exposed to war and aggression? It would in our opinion minimize the danger of war. It seems an unavoidable conclusion that the presence of America in Europe and the promise of her continued participation has aggravated the national claims of every one of the Allied peoples. America gave them a sense of security which they have used in order to press to the limit demands they would not have dared to make under other circumstances. Had they been faced with the problem of organizing a Europe which Europeans alone guaranteed, it is altogether likely that prudence would not have been thrown to the winds. But with a big brother within call, many a boy will take risks that he would ordinarily decline with thanks. Wise Europeans have frequently pointed out that diplomatically America was upsetting the European balance, and preventing it from finding its own equilibrium. This seems now to be a demonstrated truth.

Curiously enough, too, the effect of Mr. Wilson's popularity has been not to democratize the settlement, but to prevent the democracies from influencing it. They gave him their trust and affection. They believed he would fight their battle in the secret meetings. They held their tongues so as not to embarrass him, and the result of his failure was that they were neutralized. They expected America to do for them what after all they could do only for themselves, and the result is a peace which no government in Europe would have dared to propose to its people were it not temporarily painted up with the fading glory of Wilson the democrat. Mr. Wilson's presence in Paris has been mischievous for Europe just because he drained to himself practically all the reason and sense and humanity in Europe, and then surrendered them. He was the avenue of expression for all that Europe had learned from its agony, of all that it aspired to do in order to prevent its repetition. And the avenue has turned out to be a blind alley.

The American guarantee will in our opinion continue to checkmate the process of European reconstruction. "The real alternative," says the New York Evening Post (May 24th), "is whether we shall permit the Old World to create problems for us to face as an accomplished fact, or whether we shall take a hand in shaping the decisions which we are bound to face." Our point is that the guarantee, especially under Article Ten, stultifies our effort to shape the decisions, by giving the Old World too free a hand in shaping the policies without regard to consequences. Once commit America to preserving the status quo against anything that diplomacy can manipulate into the appearance of aggression and it is hard to see how America can "shape decision" any more effectively in the future than Mr. Wilson has shaped them in Paris.

A word more about the League. The idea that the use of force is its cornerstone is a misreading of politics. A League to last must rest on consent and common advantage. The power and the will to coerce the lawbreaker and secessionist arises from this community of advantage. Mere police power is nothing, and may become a dividing rather than a unifying thing, if the burden of policing outweighs the advantages of community. Thus a wise reservation by the Senate may disappoint those who put their whole faith in a league to *enforce* peace, but it will promote rather than retard the world's progress towards a league of free nations. All that is essentially valuable in the Paris Covenant is its substitution of a conference of governments for the old criss-cross of the embassies. That is a very great step forward in human cooperation. But its free action and its benefits are poisoned by neutralizing the influence and pocketing the effectiveness of the one approximately disinterested Power.

Hypothesis vs. Hypothesis

IN the German note of May 13th it is assumed that the effect of the peace treaty will be to crush Germany economically. The Allied reply made public May 23rd charges the Germans with exaggerating the weight of the burdens and disabilities they will have to endure. Those burdens and disabilities, the Allied representatives assert, are gauged according to Germany's ability to bear them. We may be permitted a certain nationalistic pride in the subtlety and skill of the Allied reply: it is said to have been composed by the American experts. That does not absolve us from the necessity of examining its adequacy.

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The Germans point out that the cession of territories on the east cuts down their production of corn and potatoes by one-fifth. The Allies reply that the Germans will have one-tenth less population to maintain. That is an important correction, on the hypothesis that the German element in the population of Alsace-Lorraine, Posen, West Prussia and Upper Silesia is not to be encouraged to repatriate itself. The Germans assert that one-third of their coal production is taken away from them. The Allied reply points out that one-fourth of the German coal was consumed in the ceded territories. That is an important correction on the hypothesis that Germany will not undertake to replace, on German soil, the coal consuming metallurgical industries of the Saar valley and Lorraine. The Germans state that they lose three-fourths of their iron ore production and three-fifths of their zinc. The Allies reply that Germany may import minerals, like any other nation that lacks adequate supplies. This is to proceed on the hypothesis that the Allied governments will place no obstacles in the way of German imports. It is assumed that the French will sell the Germans ores from Lorraine, that the Belgians and Poles will sell them zinc from ceded territories on terms that will permit the Germans to compete in the world markets. The Germans complain that they are to be stripped of their ocean-going merchant fleet. The Allies reply that Germany will merely suffer along with the rest of the world under the shortage of shipping produced by the submarine. That is all Germany will suffer on the hypothesis that the Allied merchant fleets will carry goods to and from Germany without discrimination.

The Allied spokesmen take the opportunity to read Germany an excellent lesson in orthodox economics. "There is not the slightest reason to believe that a population is destined to be permanently disabled because it will be called upon in future to trade across its frontiers instead of producing what it requires from within." There is indeed none, on the hypothesis that such a nation will not find markets closed against it by discriminating tariffs, discriminating transportation charges, embargoes, prohibitions. "Such is the case, for instance with Great Britain—" Yes, Great Britain, which rules the waves, and is just now rounding out her control of the bulk of the productive colonial territories of the world. The instance smacks of humor. The Allied reply also presses Germany to recognize how much her industry will be relieved by the disarmament provision of the treaty. That will be a great saving—how great we discuss in detail elsewhere—on the hypothesis that Germany is permitted to develop her industry, and on the further hypothesis that the armies of occupation to be maintained at Germany's expense, do not eat up all the possible savings under this head through the next fifteen years.

Whether the Allied reply meets the German protest depends all through on the hypothesis one takes. Are the peacemakers honestly desirous of foreclosing the issues of the war? Do they mean to use the power of life and death over Germany that the peace treaty places in their hands for the one purpose of reconstructing the world, or do they mean to wring from it incidental nationalistic advantage in the way of a permanent lead over a potential commercial competitor? The words of the Allied reply, though harsh, breathe a spirit of fair play. But fair words are just now at a great discount in the international market. Which hypothesis are we to accept? Perhaps the terms of the peace treaty will answer the question? No; and that is the treaty's mortal defect.

The Quaintest Notion

THE Allied note of May 22nd on the general economic effects of the treaty is a document of amazing interest. Replying to the criticism that transfers of territory deprive Germany of the basis of a large portion of her industry, the Allied and Associated Powers argue from this proposition:

> "It would appear to be a fundamental fallacy that the political control of a country is essential in order to procure a reasonable share of its products. Such a proposal finds no foundation in economic law or in history."

Morocco, Tunis, Algiers, Mesopotamia, Africa, China, Persia—have we all suddenly gone stark mad? What in the name of sanity is the meaning of these swollen empires, of concession hunting over the face of the globe, of imperial preferences, key industries, embargoes? Are they all based on a fundamental fallacy which has no foundation in economic law or history? What, pray, is the purpose of all the spheres of influence in China? Of the French sovereignty in Morocco? Of the French claim to Syria? Of the British control of Persian oil and the Mesopotamian valley? Of the Italian claim to Adalia and the coal mines in Turkey? Of the French desire for the copper mines of Syria? Of the quarrel between the Czechs and Poles over Teschen coal mines? Of the Italian demand for full sovereignty in Fiume? Of the British imperial arrangements about tin, rubber, palm kernels? The bunker-coal arrangements?

Fallacies, all of them, without foundation in economic law or in history. This official document

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be it noted, is the first statement of economic principles which has issued from the Peace Conference, and is therefore the first information available as to what the authors and governors of the League have in mind. And from it we discover that they have adopted as their own philosophy the position hereto taken by no one but radical, anti-imperialist, free trade pacifists. The theory that political control of territories is of no consequence to the industry of a nation has up to the present moment been held only by a few isolated thinkers, a few agitators, and some working-class organizations. No government in any great European Power has ever believed it, and none that is represented in Paris has so far ever acted on it.

In declaring their own policy to be a fundamental fallacy having no foundation in economic law or in history, it would almost seem as if the old high hopes of the war were about to be realized—that this is to be indeed a new era in human history, and that in crushing German imperialism the Powers meant to crush also all other imperialism. Have they not declared the economic argument of imperialism a fundamental fallacy? Have they not solemnly said so to the whole world, said so officially, in cold blood?

Well they have said it. But two days later they repented. The coal of the Saar valley was under discussion. France needs the coal. The valley where the coal lies is inhabited by Germans. Under the treaty the political control of the valley is put in jeopardy. Against this the Germans protested, saying that they were willing to give full guarantees that France should receive the coal she needed, but that the political control of this German territory should not be disputed. What is the Allied reply to this (May 24th)? Says M. Clemenceau for the same Powers who two days previously denounced the fundamental fallacy: "In particular I would point out that no arrangement of the kind put forward would give to France the security and certainty which she would receive from the full exploitation and free ownership of the mines of the Saar."

Once again, and this time in highly spectacular fashion, there is exhibited the quaint conception of morality which uses principles when they are convenient and retracts them when they are inconvenient. For the Germans political control of raw materials is a fundamental fallacy; for the French it is a necessity. For the Germans the loss of non-German territory is an application of the principle of self-determination; for the Czechs and the Italians, and the German Austrians, the annexation of Germans or the denial of union is a strategic necessity. What Napoleon says of the Englishman in Bernard Shaw's play fits the Peace Conference exactly: "He is never at a loss for an effective moral attitude."

The Conference has been cursed with principles; and no set of men in history have ever done so much to make moral preaching odious as those gentlemen in Paris. One could endure their conclusions if they were set forth frankly for what they are. But to have the orthodox European treaty of peace set in a halo of Wilson phrases and pacifist anti-imperialist principles, to invoke all the high gods and everything common men hold sacred as a useful way of transacting business is a proceeding which no human being with a conscience can respect. It will not be respected, and Americans who have any capacity for seeing things in the perspective of history know in their hearts today that for lack of courage in their leader at Paris and for timidity on the part of their leaders at home, their honor is being impugned and their moral sense made ridiculous.

There is such a thing as noblesse oblige, and this is a good occasion for displaying it. The brutalities which Germany as victor would have committed are the reason why the war had to be fought to a conclusion which left Germany both powerless and free. But on the victors in such a war fell the awful responsibility of proving to all men for all time that they were radically different in purpose and temper from the enemy they had overthrown. Whoever denies that dishonors himself and his nation.

What Germany Will Save on Armaments

GERMANY is to be delivered of the burden of a navy aiming at control of the seas; she is to be delivered of the burden of universal military service. These are important gains, worth from the financial point of view the profits to be wrung from many thousands of square miles of colonial dominions. The annual saving on the war services will sustain many billions of war debt. This fact the Peace Conference has taken into account, in estimating Germany's capacity to pay. How great a share of the indemnity is based on these anticipated savings we are not informed by the Paris Conference. But we should find no insuperable difficulty in determining the point for ourselves.

In 1913 the German Empire voted 1,956,919,200 marks, or about $500,000,000 for the support of the army and navy. The army expenditures in that year, however, reflected the extraordinary preparations that were making for "a readjustment of the international situation," as the diplomats then phrased it. This was about eighty million dollars in excess of the average annual expenditures of the five years preceding 1913, and the surplus was

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covered by a capital tax which German industry endured only with the assurance that it was a temporary expedient. But the German people would have continued to bear an expenditure of $420,000,000 if the war had ended in a draw with Germany's frontiers intact. With her population cut down one-tenth by territorial cessions Germany under the old military system would have spent a little under $400,000,000 on army and navy.

Of that amount about $120,000,000 would have gone to the navy. The remnant of a navy that Germany is to be permitted to keep will cost little. Twenty millions would be a generous provision for it, leaving a clear saving of $100,000,000. The $280,000,000, which would have provided for an army of 675,000 men under the old system of compulsory service, will have charged upon it the maintenance of only 100,000 men, voluntarily enlisted for twelve years.

It goes without saying that a force of professional soldiers is much more expensive, relatively to its numbers. The conscripts in the former German standing army received barely enough for decent maintenance, and not always enough. Those who were fortunate enough to have means of their own, or who could draw upon their kinsfolk, usually supplemented the army allowances in some measure. The new army will have to pay enough to attract men away from industry. It is not unlikely that such a force with its equipment would cost the treasury $800 per man, or $80,000,000 in the aggregate. That would leave a saving of $200,000,000 to be added to the savings of $100,000,000 on the navy.

Three hundred millions is what the treasury may expect to save as a result of disarmament. It is only a part of what the nation will save. Instead of keeping 675,000 men at drilling and parading, the nation will devote only 100,000 to this unproductive service. The other 575,000 men will be engaged in industry and agriculture, earning, at pre-war rates of wages, $300 a year each. That is $172,500,000. Nor is it to be supposed that what these men will get will absorb all they produce. Their presence in industry will swell the profits of capital by at least $50,000,000, perhaps by $75,000,000. Let us say that in round numbers, the industrial savings from the abolition of universal service amount to $250,000,000. This, to be sure, is working on the assumption, abhorred by our militarists, that the time spent in drilling is sheer economic waste. But our militarists will surely grant the assumption when it runs against Germany.

We have arrived at an aggregate of $550,000,000. Are there other items to be added? It is sometimes urged that the cost of the war industries should be included as an additional item. But this cost figures in the budgetary charges, already included. When the government orders field guns of Krupps it initiates a social waste, which one can measure either by the money laid out on the guns or by the labor it takes to produce them. We have added the value of unpaid services to the value of goods and services paid for by the treasury. That is all the army and navy cost, but it is a sufficiently imposing sum.

This sum is sufficient to pay interest and amortization on a debt of ten billions. That is a point to be taken into consideration when one is estimating Germany's ability to pay. It is a vast capital, produced by the simple device of forcibly weaning Germany from the folly of competitive armaments. Produced? No, let us rather say producible. For like many of the other realities with which the world has to deal, Germany's savings on armaments are hypothetical.

They rest upon the hypothesis that Germany wants to go back to work, and will be permitted to go back to work. The 575,000 men who will not have to spend their time in the army will produce a net addition to value provided that they can find work without taking work away from other persons. The treasury will save $300,000,000 on condition that German economic activity returns to full vigor. Without that condition fulfilled the treasury would not have $300,000,000 to spend; therefore it could not save it. Whether the disarmament of Germany is to ease the burden of indemnities or not depends then upon the commercial regime that is to be applied to Germany. And that regime is altogether undetermined in the peace treaty. All that is determined is that the victors shall hold the power to let Germany work and recover her solvency or languish in chronic bankruptcy.

For the New York World

THE New York World which began by seeing in the treaty the voice of eternal justice so clearly expressed that there was nothing to do but sign on the other line has now reached the point of hoping that negotiations at Versailles will change "some" of the "great many provisions in the Treaty of Peace of which the World does not approve." But presumably if they cannot be changed, then the United States must ratify without amendment and without reservation. Why? Does the World wish to guarantee in detail the provisions of a settlement which it now admits contains a great many bad provisions? That is the American question involved, and to it the World must apply its intellect regardless of whether the question is put by the "extreme radicals" (we refer the World to Mr. Eastman, the New York Call, or Mr. Villard

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for comment) or by the "extreme reactionaries." Our own position in brief is this: Morally the treaty must be rejected as a violation of faith by all men of conscience. This rejection is necessary as a matter of record. Since it is highly improbable that under present conditions the treaty will be revised by the governments now represented at Paris, the only concrete political expression which can be given to the American sense of the treaty's immorality and intrinsic unworkableness is to withdraw from all guarantees under the Covenant which pledge America to maintain the situation created by the treaty. This withdrawal is dictated not only by good faith but by common prudence and a decent regard for American safety in a hopelessly embroiled settlement. Whatever portions of the League can be maintained after this withdrawal should be maintained as a basis for "continuing adjustments in accordance with the enlightened opinion of mankind." But no American guarantee of the territorial and economic details of a European settlement so urgently in need of adjustments should be given by anyone who examines candidly either the interests of America or the interests of Europe. Just because the American guarantee tends to sanctify the status quo instead of acting as an incentive to adjustment, the New Republic finds itself for the moment unfortunately in disagreement with a paper which is on the whole one of the fine products of American journalism.

Peace and the American Press

A WESTERN newspaper, when the peace terms with Germany were announced, printed a cartoon picturing Mars with a satisfied smile on his lips—lighting a cigar with the peace treaty. And the title of the picture was: "Gosh! They had me worried for a while."

Now the newspaper which published this cartoon is not one of the smaller "radical" sheets, but the Detroit News—with a circulation of more than 200,000, the largest in its city. And this fact, probably, does not fit into the picture which many people have made, of the attitude taken by American newspapers toward the peace with Germany. They imagine the line-up to be something like this: Certain Republican papers oppose the League of Nations Covenant; a few Republican papers support the Covenant; almost every Democratic paper supports it; but all three groups of papers write in support of the treaty itself, as distinguished from the Covenant. They regard it as meting out a just punishment to Germany. They regard it as putting an end to imperialism. And because it puts an end to imperialism they regard it as good insurance against future wars. It is only the "radicals," with a sneaking friendship for Germany or the Bolsheviki, who cry out that the treaty fosters imperialism rather than kills it, does not avert future wars but breeds them.

This view of American newspaper opinion is far from the fact; and it is important to note that a much different line-up probably exists. No comprehensive summary of newspaper opinion can be given in a single article. But it is possible to point to certain papers typical enough to serve as an index for groups of other papers, and to show that among these journals there are some which cannot display enthusiasm over the peace that has been made with Germany.

For the purposes of this argument it is well to omit the labor papers and the journals of such organizations as the Nonpartisan League. They are "liberal" or "radical," and it is the papers of established conservatism that are wanted for the present review. The Chicago Daily News is a good paper with which to start.

The Daily News has the largest circulation of any newspaper in Chicago. As a rule, its point of view is thoroughly typical of opinion in the Middle West. Commenting on the proposed alliance between France, England and America, the News gives an estimate of what this peace has done to introduce new style diplomacy and to rule out the causes of future wars. "At this moment," it says, "when the terms of the peace treaty disclose how severe has been the defeat of President Wilson at the hands of the old style diplomacy and to how great an extent the fourteen points have been disregarded by the European politicians who pledged their word to adhere to them, it may be well to ask what France has given or will give in return for the great service it desires of the United States."

Pointing out that America cannot permit French culture to be overwhelmed, the News indicates the danger risked in choosing the present method for providing France with protection. "In asking the United States to guarantee it against aggression, France also asks the United States to uphold it in its possession of the Saar valley coal fields, which, it appears, are to go to France with very little chance of their ever being returned to Germany. This alone is a contravention of one of the fourteen points. France also has been the principal supporter of the clause which forbids Germany to annex German Austria, another violation of the principle of self-determination." The News asks, therefore, whether the United States ought not insist on some sort of provisions "in the way of better assurance of world peace."

The strength of the imperalist forces that have been at work in Paris is also recognized by another

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great newspaper of the Middle West, the Chicago Tribune. In a recent editorial the Tribune says: "The interposition of selfish national ambitions, of political strategies, of special imperialistic enterprises, of projects of profit and aggrandizement is perilous to civilization. The most sinister aspect of the peace conference is the appearance of these considerations, seemingly occupying the attention of the peacemakers." And the Detroit News asserts: "To judge the future by the past, the peace treaty will result in disappointed nations gathering their resources until the losses of the late war are made good, and then setting out by force of arms to satisfy their claims. But in past peace treaties there has always been a sense of injustice added to the sense of unsatisfied ambition. It is this sense of having been dealt with unjustly that made men willing to lay down their lives to further national ambitions. And it is absolutely true, and universally admitted to be true, that many nations today feel that the present treaty does them injustice. . . . The treaty arranges for a plebiscite in territory claimed by some states, but not in Shantung or the Dalmatian coast or in numerous other places. In other words, it is a patchwork of compromises."

A paper very little given to wild statement is the Springfield Republican. But, in the opinion of the Republican, this treaty "in some ways is even more severe than the treaty of Brest-Litovsk which Germany imposed upon Russia." That is the comparison supposed to have been made only by the "radicals." But the Republican supports its comparison with argument. "For years to come," it says, "Germany's taxes will be imposed by foreigners, its commerce will be controlled by them. Its railways and waterways will be open to them on their own terms, while Germany has no way to secure reciprocity. It can sell abroad only what the Allies may choose to allow it to sell, and it is pledged to suppress any attempts to evade by false markings any ban that may be laid on German goods. The Allies, in short, have the power under the treaty, if the summary correctly represents the case, to crush Germany to atoms, and while no such desire is felt in the United States, in some other countries a rancor has been shown in some quarters which may make the German delegates hesitate to sign so many terms, the full implication of which is not clear."

The treaty, continues the Republican, "definitely sweeps away all Germany's colonial possessions and provides machinery for the destruction of what is left of its commercial interests abroad. It transfers a great part of Germany's coal and iron to France, making Germany dependent upon her enemies for these supplies on which her industries rest. That it keeps the German army and navy small is probably no harm to a democratic Germany desiring peace, but if the terms of the treaty should be converted into an instrument of oppression this compulsory disarmament would of course become an added grievance." What is the conclusion? Not in the treaty itself, but in the fact that it may be administered in a charitable spirit (by the governments that fought so hard at Paris to make it), lies the better hope of peace for the world.

From the brief comment of a small number of newspapers it is not possible to argue a large conclusion. There is an obvious falsity in reasoning from the particulars to the general. Nevertheless, it is possible to make one observation. Not that any newspapers of the class reviewed here show a sympathy with Germany in her present plight. Not that all critics of the treaty are despondent; some of them see a saving hope in the League of Nations, though its executives are rather closely identified with the people who framed this new treaty of Brest-Litovsk. But what does seem a reasonable conclusion is this: that there are important and entirely typical newspapers in the United States, with no record of "radicalism," which are not satisfied with the peace treaty; that they see in its terms a gratification of selfish aims and national ambitions; that it does not seem to bring an end to world imperialism, but only to German imperialism; and that it leaves behind it certain suspicions, grievances and aggressive ambitions—for victor as well as vanquished—which have been a fruitful cause of wars in the past.

The question whether the armies and resources of the United States should be thrown in as a guarantee of such a peace is now before the Senate. And no doubt the Senate is aware of the doubt with which the treaty is viewed by critics who are not necessarily radical, but merely observant.

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"I, Walt Whitman"

IN Myself and Mine Whitman delivered an admonition in spite of which he has been discussed in an alcove-full of books and in innumerable lectures:

I call the world to distrust the accounts of my friends, but listen to my enemies—as I myself do;
I charge you, too, forever reject those who would expound me—for I cannot expound myself;
I charge that there be no theory nor school founded out of me;
I charge you to leave all free, as I have left all free.

On the whole the things that Whitman stood for have been very little affected by either Whitmaniphobes or Whitmaniacs; the world has slowly come round to them regardless of fair breezes or the raging of little tempests. While prejudice and ignorance have quarrelled over the aspects of his versification, the output of free verse has multiplied; and in the meanwhile the practice of marking one's own sex-probity by the shrillness of one's plaints at Whitman has quite gone out of fashion.

The objection still raised by modest souls against Whitman's "colossal egotism" is a theme not for friend or foe, but for the expounder whom he charged the world to reject; for properly understood it leads far toward an understanding of the whole man. It is obvious, of course, to any second thought, that even if Whitman's "I's" should all be taken literally, they would amount to no more than an unusual frankness of artistic expression. Every creator is of necessity an egotist who is bound to believe in the driving truth of what he has to say. The whole anthology on the poet and his work is a catalogue of supreme egotisms, though many of the poems are written in the third person. Only a year before the Leaves of Grass appeared Thoreau had said in Walden: "We commonly do not remember that it is, after all, always the first person that is speaking. I should not talk so much about myself if there were anybody else whom I knew as well."

But, in the second place, the Whitman "I" does not always mean the same thing. Sometimes it is explicitly personal, as in,

I, now, thirty-six years old, in perfect health, begin,
Hoping to cease not till death.

And at others it stands implicitly, but with just as clear intent, for "the average man." "I meant 'Leaves of Grass,'" says the preface to the 1876 edition, "as published, to be the Poem of Average Identity (of *yours,* whoever you are, now reading these lines). . . . To sing the Song of that Average Identity, and of Yourself, consistently with the divine law of the universal, is the main purpose of these 'Leaves.'"

Most important of all, however, the egotistic "I" is often an evidence of the mysticism at the back of his faith. It is the experience of the mystic —William James has explained and illustrated it —to ascend in inspired moments to heights from which all truth seems to be divinely revealed; not in a flashlight perception of some single aspect of life, but by a sense of the entire scheme of creation imparted direct from God. It is clear, like the view from a mountain-top, but, like such a view, it is incapable of adequate expression in words,— "an intuition," said Whitman, groping at it, "of the absolute balance, in time and space, of the whole of this multifarious, mad chaos of fraud, frivolity, hoggishness—this revel of fools, and incredible make-believe and general unsettledness, we call *the world;* a soul-sight of that divine clue and unseen thread which holds the whole congeries of things, all history and time, and all events, however trivial, however momentous, like a leashed dog in the hand of the hunter."

No one, therefore, can understand Whitman who cannot come to his pages as he himself approached life. "Place yourself,"—again it is James who supplies the word of direction—"at the centre of a man's philosophic vision and you understand at once all the different things it makes him write or say. But keep outside, use your post-mortem method, try to build the philosophy up out of the single phrases, taking first one and then another and seeking to make them fit, and of course you fail. You crawl over the thing like a myopic ant over a building, tumbling into every microscopic crack or fissure, finding nothing but inconsistencies, and never suspecting that a centre exists." At the centre of Whitman's philosophy was the inspired certainty of a pervasive unity in life and the coming supremacy of love. It made him utterly sure as to the mistakenness of human conditions and unqualifiedly direct in his comments.

His sense of the wholeness of life made all the parts deeply significant to him. The same mystical consciousness is beneath all these passages, and all the others like them:

I celebrate myself;
And what I assume you shall assume;
For every atom belonging to me, as good belongs to you.

The wild gander leads his flock through the cool night;
Ya-honk! he says, and sounds it down to me like an invitation;

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(The pert may suppose it meaningless, but I listen close;
I find its purpose and place up there toward the wintry sky.)

I believe a leaf of grass no less than the journey-work of the stars,
And the pismire is equally perfect, and a grain of sand, and the egg of the wren,
And the tree-toad is a chef-d'oeuvre for the highest,
And the running blackberry would adorn the parlors of heaven,
And the narrowest hinge in my hand puts to scorn all machinery,
And the cow crunching with depressed head surpasses any statue,
And a mouse is miracle enough to stagger sextillions of infidels,
And I could come every afternoon of my life to look at the farmer's girl
Boiling her iron tea-kettle and baking short-cake.

In the universe, then—Whitman thought of the word in its literal sense of a great and single design—man was the supreme fact to whom all its objects "continually converge." As man was God-created, Whitman was no respecter of persons, but a lover of the common-folk in whom the destiny of humankind resides more than in presidents or kings. And since he considered the race in the light of ages upon ages, the generating of life seemed to him a matter of holiest import.

For carrying out the human experiment he felt that the only fit vehicle was the purest sort of democracy; the greatest driving power in it, public opinion, and the greatest potential moulder of public opinion, the bard. This seer or poet was to be not a reformer, but a preacher of a new gospel; he was in fact to be infinitely patient in face of "meanness and agony without end" while he invoked the principles which would one day put them to rout.

I hear it was charged against me that I sought to destroy institutions;
But really I am neither for nor against institutions;
(What indeed have I in common with them, or what with the destruction of them?)
Only I will establish in the Mannahatta, and in every city of these States, inland and seaboard,
And in the fields and woods, and above every keel, little or large, that dents the water,
Without edifice, or rules, or trustees, or any argument,
The institution of the dear love of comrades.

To the bard he attributed knowledge of science and history, the learning of the broadly educated man, and beyond that, wisdom:

He bestows on every object or quality its fit proportion, neither more nor less.
He is no arguer, he is judgment—(Nature accepts him absolutely)
He judges not as the judge judges, but as the sun falling round a helpless thing;
As he sees farthest, he has the most faith.

He is no writer of "poems distilled from foreign poems"; he is the propounder of

the idea of free and perfect individuals,
For that idea the bard walks in advance, leader of leaders,
The attitude of him cheers up slaves and horrifies foreign despots.

In America whose "veins are filled with poetical stuff" Whitman was certain not only of the need for poets, but of their ultimate power; for in America, the cradle of the race, and through the bards, God's will was to be done.

Whitman's self-reliance was not a mere matter of the written word. With the mystic's sense of the revealed truth and a devout conviction that it was the poet's duty—his duty—to show men a new heaven and a new earth, he strode serenely down the years. Emerson had written, "Adhere to your act, and congratulate yourself if you have done something strange and extravagant, and broken the monotony of a decorous age." Yet he remonstrated with Whitman, and in the attempt to modify his extravagance, used arguments which were unanswerable. Nevertheless, said the younger poet, "I felt down in my soul the clear and unmistakable conviction to disobey all, and pursue my own way"; in doing which he bettered Emerson's instructions by disregarding his advice. Hostile or brutal criticism left him quite unruffled. It reaffirmed him and cheered him with the thought that people were minding what he said. After Swinburne's fierce attack, says Burroughs, "I could not discover, either in word or look, that he was disturbed a particle by it. He spoke as kindly of Swinburne as ever. If he was pained at all, it was on Swinburne's account and not on his own. It was a sad spectacle to see a man retreat on himself as Swinburne had done."

His daily preoccupation with "superior beings and eternal interests" led him to some of the elevations and some of the contempts of the Puritan fathers. The comparison is a perilous one, but it leads far to think of Whitman as a Puritan stripped of his dogma. It accounts for his constant absorption in things of religion, for his democratic zeal, his disregard for the adornments of life, even for his subordination of the sentiment of love to the perpetuation of the race. In these he dwelt on broad and permanent factors, regarding the finite and personal only as he saw them in the midst of all time and space.

And this leads to Whitman in his relation to the science with which Puritanism was at odds. He was not in the usual sense a nature-poet, for the beauties of nature exerted little appeal on him. He had nothing to say in detached observations on the primrose, or the mountain-tops, or the sunset. But nature was next to his own soul the source of deep-

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est truth to him, a truth which the progress of science in his own day was making splendidly clear. The dependence of biological science on the material universe did not shake his faith in immortality. He simply took what knowledge science could contribute to him and understood it in the light of a faith which transcended any science. Among modern poets he was one of the earliest to chant the paean of creative evolution.

Rise after rise bow the phantoms behind me,
Afar down I see the huge first Nothing—I know I was even there,
I waited unseen and always, and slept through the lethargic mist,

And took my time, and took no hurt from the fetid carbon.
Before I was born out of my mother generations guided me,
My embryo has never been torpid—nothing could overlay it.
For it the nebula cohered to an orb,
The long, slow strata piled to rest it in.
Vast vegetables gave it sustenance,
Monstrous sauroids transported it in their mouths, and deposited it with care.
All forces have been steadily employed to complete and delight me,
Now I stand on this spot with my Soul.

It is impossible, as all critics agree, to compass Whitman in a book, or compress him into an essay. He was an immensely expansive personality whose writings are as broad as life. And it is so hard for one who has really read over and through and under his poems to speak of him in measured terms that his warning against the accounts of his friends has been fully justified. Yet the world is coming round to the spot where Whitman stood with his soul much faster than he could have foreseen. Every great step in progress is a step in the direction he was pointing. His larger faith, whether so recognized or not, is yearly the faith of more and more thinking people; and in an immediate way his influence on the generation of living poets is incomparably great. PERCY H. BOYNTON.

Political Portents in England

A POLITICAL portent has arisen in England and all men are debating its meaning. There have recently been three by-elections. In the Liverpool division, which had long been represented by Mr. F. E. Smith, now the Lord Chancellor, a large Unionist majority was almost wiped out. At West Leyton a Unionist majority of nearly 5,000 was converted into a minority of 2,000. At Central Hull, which has a long Conservative tradition, a Unionist majority of over 10,000 has been changed into a minority of nearly 1,000.

All this has happened within four months of the General Election. Neither the great increase in the electorate caused by the recent franchise bill nor the introduction of women to the voters' roll is in itself sufficient to explain it. It is without precedent in our political history. It is a commonplace that governments begin to become unpopular from the moment when they take office, and that after a war unpopularity begins more quickly than at any other time. Never was government so unpopular nor so rudely thrown from office as the government of Mr. Balfour which was returned to power at the "Khaki" election of 1900 and was utterly crushed in the election of 1906. It was certain, too, that after the world-war the tide of political discontent would begin to flow with exceptional rapidity and violence. But no one dreamed that within a period of time too short to allow any government to "make good," the electorate would be reversing its decisions wholesale and converting the new government into a body which has lost its claim to represent the people. That is a very serious fact. The government will have to take decisions of great moment and there will not be lacking voices henceforward to declare that it no longer has the moral authority to do so. In an electorate which is usually so placid and stable as the British, this reversal of opinion is a new phenomenon and one that has its disquieting side. It suggests a profound movement of popular forces which we can only dimly discern and of which we cannot foresee the future action; their action is at present purely negative; they are experiencing discontent and disillusionment and though their resentment is hailed gleefully by some of the party political opponents of the present ministry, there is not the least evidence that they desire to see these gentlemen, whom they so vigorously repudiated in December, restored to power.

Unquestionably, these elections are a condemnation of Mr. George's government. On that, all frank and serious critics are agreed, whatever their point of view. The very fact that in spite of their manifold differences they do agree in this judgment helps to explain the action of the electors. For all the critics, Liberal, Labor and Unionist, are out of humor with the government and each is disposed to assert that the revolting electors have turned against the government for the same reasons which animate himself. It is reasonable to

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suppose that the discontent of different types of critics in the press is represented also in popular opinion and that the government has suffered these unparalleled rebuffs for the simple and sufficient reason that at present it is satisfying no one.

For some weeks past the Unionist party have been working up resentment against Mr. Lloyd George because they suspect him of making a "soft" peace with Germany. The Morning Post, which desires a "French" peace, is angry that Mr. George has not supported at every turn the French proposals with regard to the Polish and the Rhine frontiers. The Times cannot abide the Georgian policy on reparations and indemnities. So these critics, declaring that the electorate is wearied and dispirited by the interminable delays at Paris, which is true enough, identify the causes of this feeling with the grounds of their own indignation, of which there is no evidence. For in so far as the policy which the Morning Post represents came into the Leyton and Hull elections it was flatly opposed by the Liberal candidates who were triumphantly returned. "If Mr. Lloyd George is standing by President Wilson and resisting the Chauvinists in other countries," said Commander Kenworthy, "this Central Hull result will strengthen his hands." We must look a little deeper for the causes.

There is no room to doubt that just as the newly enfranchised women voted in large numbers for Mr. George at the general election, so their votes now are being largely cast to defeat the government. A friend of the Coalition who went through the Leyton election declared that when the women voted for Mr. George in December they expected that the cost of living, especially of food, would fall with the advent of his government, and that they were bitterly disappointed when it failed to do so. This was not only a reasonable attitude of mind on their part but almost inevitable. It is natural that a body of new electors, untrained to politics and assiduously taught that the much desired and fought for vote is the great instrument of political progress, should expect great things to follow their first exercise of the magic weapon and should be resentful when nothing happens. The male voter, although more sophisticated, is himself often deluded but on the whole he knows that governments do comparatively little to change the course of his life. The women will learn this in time and will become more tolerant but at present they feel sharply on the subjects which come home to them so directly —prices, pensions, housing and the like—and they do not understand why, having put in power the one politician whose name appeals to them, their lot is no better than it was.

The women were not, however, the only section of the electorate to be influenced by the cost of living. At Hull much was made on the Liberal side of the government policy in respect of the blockade and restrictions upon trade. If the government suffer for this, they are experiencing rough justice, for it is quite true to say that their present policy is to keep prices up in favor of certain manufacturers. They defend the policy as transitional. The important point is that the policy and its effects are there now; whether it is transitional remains to be seen at some later date.

For a second decisive cause we may cite the successful Liberal candidates at Hull and Leyton. They agree that they owe their victory in large part to the issue of conscription. Like the embargoes upon imports, conscription is defended as a transitional measure and it is quite arguable that under present circumstances we must have conscription in order to maintain with some sense of security an army of occupation on the Rhine and in the occupied parts of Turkey. The truth is that the popular distaste for the continuance of conscription covers a wider ground. The people thought that when fighting came to an end on November 11th the war was really over. They do not understand why it should be necessary, five months after the armistice (which to the masses of the people was synonymous with peace) to maintain large conscript armies, nor why, when Germany has been broken to pieces, fighting should still be going on at half a dozen different points in Europe. They know, because it has been stated in Parliament, that the United States will lend no aid to intervention in Russia; they hear that Japan, which was to march to the Volga, will not advance a foot beyond Lake Baikal; they read of M. Pichon announcing that no more French troops will go, even as relief, to Archangel; they are told that the Finnish Legion at Murmansk is plotting to betray the Allies.

The upshot of it all is that they want peace. When the Russian Revolution broke out in 1917, the cardinal fact of the situation was soon discovered to be this, that to the average Russian soldier and peasant the war had become an excrescence and an irrelevance. He wanted to get back to his everyday life and at all costs to be rid of the war. In that sense it is quite true to say that the British elector is sick of the delays at Paris, for they perpetuate conscription, they prolong the period of occupation on the Rhine and the Russian expedition, they postpone the return to genuine peace, to the normal workaday world, which he desires. The resolutions of various Labor bodies against conscription and the Russian expeditions, which are accompanied sometimes by threats of violent ac-

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tion, are in part political in origin but in part also they are the product of this deep-seated desire to be rid finally of a war which ended five months ago and yet continues with us.

These are the main roots of the present malaise which overspreads the country. The grievances which inspire the Morning Post and the three hundred odd Unionist M.P.'s who are demanding indemnities and no dealings with the Bolsheviki are vocal in the press and in the House, but there is no evidence that they have turned a vote in the constituencies. It is difficult to suppose that disappointed Chauvinists have transferred their support from men of their own color to Liberals who will uphold Mr. George for every effort that he makes in the direction of a moderate and reasonable peace. On the other hand, the labor unrest which goes with the high cost of living has its reflection in the polls and it is a good thing that there should be this safety-valve.

Only, if the unrest and discontent continue, if the constituencies should with increasing vigor withdraw their confidence from the government and if nevertheless the government still clung to office—as governments almost invariably have a way of doing—a very dangerous situation would arise. The country would be ruled, important decisions would be taken, Ireland would be held down by a government devoid of moral authority. That is at any time an unhealthy situation. It would be worse than unhealthy in a country where "direct action" is being threatened from moment to moment by one section or another.

W. P. Crozier.

Standardizing the Immigrant

In more ways than one the Americanization Conference just held in Washington at the call of the Secretary of the Interior was a vast improvement upon its predecessor of a year ago. The personnel, to begin with, was more varied; the official note was less terrifying and more enlightened; the protestant forces were both present and vocal; and the questionings and interpellations from the floor were of a character that would have been deemed a year ago unthinkable. A year ago the assemblage was brought together, like a posse comitatus, to confront a menace. It deliberated in the thickening shadows of a polyglot boarding house. Therefore, quite naturally, and as men always do when they are frightened, it rattled the sword somewhat liberally. It voted for a one-language country, and considered measures (as the Mayor of New York still does) for suppressing the public use of immigrant languages and for the forcible feeding of English to foreigners. Therefore, also remembering that the term immigrant means, largely, the impecunious laborer, the gathering was made up, ninety-nine to the hundred, of captains of industry and their subalterns.

The subalterns of industry and the non-coms of the chambers of commerce were, even this year, very much over the shop—in the chair, in the official hierarchy, and on the floor—and labor was again conspicuously out of it. It had been thought essential (at least it was so rumored in the lobby), that the Conference should present an orthodox front to Congress and the public, because there was an integral relation between its proceedings and the passage or failure of a well known appropriation bill.

For all that, the constitution and the spirit of the body presented a very appreciable advance on its forerunner. Among the three or four hundred men and women present there were college professors, factory managers, motion picture experts, state and municipal officials, an agent or two of the National Security League, settlement workers, and the largest aggregation of teachers of English that had ever, I fancy, been brought together under the same roof.

The Conference was opened Monday morning by the Federal Director of Americanization. He made an address which purported to reveal The Purposes of the Conference and Plans of the Americanization Division. About fifty other speakers made addresses. The Federal Commissioner of Education also spoke. In fact, like most gatherings of its kind, it was addressed nearly to extinction. For two whole days the Conference labored morning, afternoon and evening in a desperate effort to discover the aim of its existence. It looked as if the majority of the speakers had made up their minds in advance that Americanization was wholly and exclusively a problem in English instruction. Specialists of every conceivable species—phonograph people, stereopticon people, direct method advocates and indirect method advocates, visualists and cinema promoters—pleaded convincingly and at length for their particular hobbies. The assembly was struggling in a fog. For all practical purposes immigrants untaught in English and illiterates were bracketed together and filed as synonymous. And the silent mass who had come from the ends of the country for light were bewildered and grew visibly and increasingly irritated.

Except for Mr. Wilbur Phillips's enlightening exposition of the National Social Unit Organization, it wasn't until the third day that the Conference dashed through into the open road. It broke

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out of its paralysis early Wednesday morning when the handful of heretics ascended the platform. First of the new order was Dr. Nathan Peyser, Director of the Educational Alliance, and he was followed, during the lucid intervals, by Mr. H. A. Miller of the Mid-European Union, by Mrs. Simkhovitch of Greenwich House, by Mr. George L. Bell, sometime secretary of the California Commission on Immigration and Housing, and by two or three others. Among the others, Mr. Reginald Heber Smith, former counsel to the Legal Aid Society of Boston, in a speech that was far and away the most brilliant of the half-hundred, delivered a broad hint as to the real locality where resided the responsibility for the messy complication often and euphemistically described in the past two days as the Americanization Problem. He piled up instance upon instance of our law's delays and inequalities, and of its inaccessibility to the dumb, bewildered, penniless immigrant, except, of course, in its punitive phase.

It was Dr. Peyser who opened the guns with his paper on Foreign-Born People Generally. "Generally" was the very word that the ear of the Conference had been straining for all this while. It had been driven to utter despair by the martinets. It had come to be taught something about the human implications of the question it was called upon to solve. It wanted to know a few of the realities that lay back of the academic symbol *Immigrant*. It longed to hear the facts about the multi-colored European background, the American and European factors in immigration, the newcomer's preconception about the New World, the problem that the American milieu presents to the foreigner, the character of the much-made-of effects he lugs over here in his bundles, the reasons for his disappointment, the things that America could do to make herself irresistible to him as a bidder for his loyalty, his constancy, his affection, and his cooperation. It had been treated instead to a swollen sub-committee on the technique of teaching English, grandiloquently styled an Americanization Conference. And it was a wholesome thing to hear the warm applause that fell to these speakers when they touched upon the broader aspects of the relationship of the America of yesterday and the America of tomorrow as comprehensively as their limited time and their outrageously limited number allowed. For their generous reception left little doubt of the democratic temper of the pit, and incidentally conveyed a hopeful hint of how readily the robust American constitution can forget the war and recover from its sickly excesses and abnormalities.

It is not to be supposed that those who had arranged the meeting and a goodly lot of those who had been invited to share in its programme had gone about the business without a point of view or a policy. Not by any manner of means. The point of view, if it were quite ethical for an outsider to formulate it, might be stated somewhat like this:

> America is a closed corporation. The country was settled and built up in a somewhat remote past by the colonists of a single well-known country. We are the descendants of those colonists, and we are therefore the Americans. It happened that we made a good thing of it, so that others were attracted to our shores. But these others are interlopers. Our political system, our culture, our ideas of life and its practices are by this time set, fixed, and, broadly speaking, immutable, just as our language is. The newcomer, if he wishes to remain among us, must become like us. He must learn our ways and our traditions and accept them unquestioningly, just as he learns and accepts the English language. We are ready and willing to help him. We are indeed fully aware that there may be some things in his inheritance which are of tolerable interest. We know, for instance, that he can make some very jolly pots and laces, and that his women-folks can prepare schnitzels better than we do. We are glad to learn from him in these directions. After all, we are liberals. We are happy that he does have a sort of tradition. We thought well enough of it to help him fight for it recently. It lends a certain color and picturesqueness to his otherwise unprepossessing appearance. But we regret to state that we are not just now in the market for these curious wares of his. Our country is past the stage where she can assimilate foreign elements and modify her destiny. Of course we want the immigrant to participate in our democracy and all its blessings. But he must be willing to participate in the status quo. He may join us at the table, so to speak, but he must refrain from changing the traditional rules and upsetting the household.

Unhappily this inviting programme was not stated by the federal Director of Americanization when he spoke of the purposes of the Conference. Perhaps he had not thought it all out even for his own guidance. And the consequence was that the company was sailing about over uncharted seas. I could conceive time and again of some bewildered delegate arising in his place and addressing the rostrum in some such words as these:

> It is all quite excellent, ladies and gentlemen. Your every proposal taken by itself seems to me to be very sane and practical. Your technique, if I am any judge, is altogether faultless. I am free to confess that the majority of your suggestions would never have occurred to my unsophisticated intelligence. But one thing, I am constrained to tell you, *has* occurred to me; and I rise to ask you whether you will not set my mind at rest. The question is: What is it you are trying to do? I may be exaggerating its importance, but I cannot escape the feeling that the question is fundamental—that whatever the goal may be that you have set before you, it is not unlikely to influence the course you will have to follow. You say you want to Americanize the immigrant. Very well. I think it is a most pious project. But is it not a little vague without further definition? It is to me. I understand perfectly what it means to Americanize. It means, I venture to guess, to render people and things American. But, you see

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it is not as if the whole United States was one enormous Americanization Conference. Just now, out in the lobby, I heard an industrial investigator, an employee of this government, a man who has made some researches in industrial relations, ask some of my fellow-delegates to help him resolve a difficulty. He had found in his investigations, that labor resented the "welfare-work" of capital and dubbed it paternalism and un-American, while the employers were fighting the demands of the workers and dubbed *them* Bolshevism and un-American. Outside of this hall and over the entire country there is just now raging a rather warm dispute about what is really American; while inside here there is either a divine unanimity of opinion on the point, or—I say it without disrespect—no opinion at all. My question, in a nutshell, therefore, is: What is this Americanism with which you are so eagerly pursuing the immigrant? What is the future you have mapped out for America?

Is there an answer to this question, I wonder? I think there is. I think, in fact, that there are several of them. I have one, at least, myself. And I propose to divulge it in my next article.

M. E. RAVAGE.

In the Eyes of Our Neighbors

MARTINIQUE, like St. Thomas, belongs to the Lesser Antilles island group. It lies some 400 miles southeast of Porto Rico and about 1200 miles northeast of Panama. Its 200,000 inhabitants, mostly of mixed or pure Negro blood, have a strong national feeling for their own island and for France, the mother country. Coupled with this patriotism is an apprehension of the great nation north of them whose power they see continually coming nearer.

Once a month the capital city of Fort de France has communication with New York. The last of January a copy of the New York Herald brought to Martinique a rumor that it and the nearby island of Guadeloupe were to be ceded by France to the United States in partial settlement of the war debt. It was no more than a rumor, but the belief that the United States was waiting for only the slightest pretext to annex them was so strong that the very whisper of the thing threw the whole people into a fever of agitation. The news travelled through the city of Fort de France on the wings of the wind, and even in the obscurest corners of the island every citizen rose to his feet in protestation. The tricolor was hung from every window. Impromptu processions were formed everywhere, and even at night men, women and children paraded up and down, bearing the illuminated arms of France, waving flags, and raising the strains of the Marseillaise. In the heat of the moment another song was born, especially popular with the native soldiers, who tramped the streets singing: "Uncle Sam is all right for an uncle, but we don't want him for a father."

On the receipt of the ominous rumor the Governor had cabled to the French Colonial Minister begging to be assured of the safety of Martinique, but day after day went by and no answer came. This only confirmed the people in their suspicions. Their apprehension found voice in public meetings held in all parts of the island, where the dangers of United States ownership and the selfishness of the United States intentions were made the theme of the discourse. The press, which gave itself wholly to a discussion of the situation, declared there was no doubt whatever but that the United States was stretching forth greedy hands to Martinique and Guadeloupe. The only question was whether France could withstand its desires at the peace table.

But what was the basis for such a conviction and what the reasons for such extraordinary fear? To begin with, says L'Echo, a weekly newspaper of Fort de France, the commercial and industrial importance of these islands and their proximity to the Panama Canal would seem to indicate that their possession was the logical next step for the United States to take in following out the intent of the Monroe doctrine; and the intent of the Monroe doctrine is that the United States should annex the whole western hemisphere and subject it to its own particular civilization. This idea is inherent in the minds of the Americans; and the Americans are a people who do not intend to be withstood. "The menace is grave, the danger imminent," says another newspaper, L'Aurore. "The nation that wants possession of Martinique is made up of practical and resolute men, with strong desires and a firm purpose to obtain their will. They made that clear when they took violent measures to get Cuba and the Philippines from Spain; when they bought St. Thomas from Denmark; and when they fortified the Panama Canal, making it a military as well as a commercial canal."

Repugnance to transfer, furthermore, had a foundation apart from a love of the tricolor and a patriotic devotion to France. It would be a change of nationality "undeserved and retrogressive," says a writer in L'Aurore. The United States is a selfish nation. Martinique does not overlook our old relations with Mexico. It has not forgotten the United States of Colombia. It has noted, moreover, certain things in connection with our treatment of Negroes which do not sound well to a people with so large an admixture of Negro blood. Reports of Georgia lynchings have not escaped the attention of Fort de France. Where Negroes are eligible to all social and economic positions our various policies of Negro segregation make no popular appeal. "America for the Americans" they

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quote as our favorite and honored motto; and by this they understand we mean America, South and North, for the benefit of the white citizens of the United States.

How this impression has been fostered is no doubt a long story; but certainly this is the side of the shield that is known in Martinique. They admit generous intentions of the United States toward Europe: the United States can afford to be generous to Europe when it intends to rule the Americas. They think it is easy for us to be generous to peoples whose interests are not intimately connected with our own. The United States may do all in its power to secure a just peace in Europe, but this alone will not make it trusted in Martinique.

They grant, however, that the war called into expression principles that affect the whole world. These principles, in fact, were their hope during the days of suspense. The man who above all others had declared those principles was, they knew, their natural ally. The fact that incidentally he himself was a citizen of the United States did not affect the matter. President Wilson to them was not the exponent and interpreter of the ideals of a majority of his countrymen. He was not an American as they believed the Americans to be, but an internationalist, a solitary figure, to whom appeal could be made against the selfish ambitions of the people of the United States. He, the defender of the rights of small nations, the champion of self-determination, spoke with an honesty, an idealism, individually his own. If he knew Martinique's desire he would do his best to protect it from United States greed.

So the Committee of Defense cabled their protest to Woodrow Wilson. L'Aurore, commenting, says: "If we may expect nothing favorable from the inter-Allied conference, have we not legitimate grounds to hope to move President Wilson himself? In a matter so weighty can we not make him our advocate and entreat for ourselves the benefit of those generous principles he has proclaimed to the world? Surely it was an inspiration on the part of the Committee of Defense to beg the President of that great allied Republic not to permit Martinique . . . . to be ceded to a foreign nation."

The cloud, however, was to be lifted without need of President Wilson's aid. After a delay of a fortnight, on February 12th, the long-awaited cable from the Colonial Minister arrived: "Transfer has never been thought of and never will be."

In large headlines L'Aurore proclaimed: "The American Peril Averted. France, our generous mother, has declared herself in our favor in opposition to the wishes of the Americans." The people quieted down instantly. The cause for alarm was not immediate; it might even be far away. The Americans would have to wait longer before they could carry out their dreams of foreign encroachment and dominion. For a time at least Martinique was saved from the retrogressive influence of the people of the United States.

ELIZABETH E. HOYT.

Authority in the Modern State

IN Mr. Harold J. Laski's book, Authority in the Modern State, he proves himself one of those invaluable persons who keep sane by being able to remember that the latest controversy did not originate in yesterday morning's newspaper. He deals with the issue that lies at the very centre of guild socialism, the soviet, the League of Nations. It is the issue of the pluralist as against the unitary state. Himself an avowed pluralist he has produced the most elaborate and sustained criticism of the orthodox theory of single, unlimited state of sovereignty which anyone has written. And yet he has managed to keep the discussion in the realm of ideas. Though the book has much of the animus of a present day political pamphlet, the animus is the least obtrusive part of it. The learning in which his ideas are contained is so vast and so recondite that I imagine even the sleuth-hounds of Mr. Easley will hesitate. Intrinsically the book preaches a powerful heresy, but the author has none of the mannerisms of the heretic. That fortunately will throw heresy-hunters off the track, unless unhappily this article gives them the scent, for being men of little penetration they explode on phrases and tags, rarely on the substance. Mr. Laski has insulated one of the principal problems of our age by discussing it in the light of theorists of whom few people even know the names and in reference to controversies, such as that in the French Civil Service before 1914, about which they are stirred to no excitement. Dealing with matters which if called by the names used in current headlines would arouse a fury of partisanship, arguing for a theory that is widely and deeply resented, he has protected his argument from the dust and heat of the outer world, from the anger of opponents and the clamorous approval of advocates, by the expedient of enormous scholarship. Being a warm personal friend of Mr. Laski's I know how it bores him to be told that he knows enough about what people have said and thought about politics to fit out ten average professors with a reputation for learning. He must endure being bored once more. For his erudition is not simply a discipline for the ascertaining of truths. It is a dialectic of presentation which keeps the argument at the level of examination and prevents it from degenerating into a squabble. Mr. Laski has paid the price of knowing the background and the foreground of his subject, and the result is a study which will make it impossible from now on for any student of political theory to ignore the problem. The unitary state is challenged by innumerable forces in the real world. In this book the dogma is challenged.

Like all fine efforts of the human mind the end is a beginning, and I should like to put a question to Mr. Laski which, it seems to me, goes to the heart of his argument. On page thirty he says that "politically we can be concerned not with the hidden motives but with the overt acts of men." I think he is mistaken. I am inclined to believe that an effective social science is impossible which does not seek the hidden motives behind overt acts. To discuss simply overt acts and the political theories which have surrounded

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them is, it seems to me, to circulate in a logic doomed forever to deal with accident. For the overt acts of men have the exact form they happen to take as a result of myriad causes. The hidden motives travel to the overt act not by a straight and narrow path but through a maze of junctions and crossroads, along which they are baffled or seduced. A political science which deals merely with the terminals can never hope to control seriously the direction of human affairs.

This Mr. Laski recognizes in his discussion of fear and consent as the basis of government, for there he acknowledges the importance of the hidden motive in that he finds the premise of his argument in the nature of man. But in this very admission his original bias, has, I think, seriously diverted him. The theory of fear and the theory of consent are of course classical alternatives in political thought, but they were used by theorists who had not risen to deny, as Mr. Laski does, the value of the unitary state. They were utterly simple psychological assumptions used to discuss a simple view of the state. But Mr. Laski is primarily interested in an extremely complex view of the state. Quite in accord with the very latest experiment the world over he argues for a society in which power shall be distributed federally and derived not only from neighborhood but from occupation and fellowship. In place of the centralized state he would work towards an interlacing of autonomies and jurisdictions. Yet I am puzzled to know why in advocating this form of authority he should be content to use as its basis the psychological formulas which are laid down to sustain the very theory he is most concerned to deny.

After all the strongest argument for the unified state is that a human being cannot act effectively under a divided allegiance, that a really federal society is not possible because man has not a federal soul. It is therefore not enough to show that the French civil service before the war was denying in a revolutionary manner that the central government was supreme. The central government was claiming no less emphatically that unless the will of the government was master over the will of the servants, the safety of France was threatened. The case of the civil employees was no doubt good. A centralized bureaucracy is a deadening and heartless affair. But there is also the case of the government, which may be no less valid, saying that if autonomy is conceded to the civil service, autonomy will soon develop into mastery. In attempting to substitute coordination for hierarchy, the result may well be a new hierarchy. And the reason is that since a man cannot give equally steady allegiance to two authorities, he will end by exalting his immediate allegiance.

This, it seems to me, is the difficulty of the whole federal problem whether it appears in the form of the soviet, or industrial self-government, the League of Nations, or the United States of America. It is extraordinarily puzzling to know how to prevent the coagulation of power at some one point in the federal system, and on the other hand to prevent such dispersion of power as will leave all the parts inert and indecisive. I wish Mr. Laski would come to grips with this problem for until he does he will not it seems to me have penetrated the question he raises.

Mr. Laski's reply follows. If any one specially interested in literary form inquires whether this is a book review the answer might be that it is Socratic, and perhaps pluralistic.

W. L.

Mr. Lippmann's note gives me a welcome opportunity of revising a sentence which he has shown, I think, to be too narrow in its connotation. I think he is wrong in implying that you cannot answer the classic defense of the sovereign state in terms of its own psychology. I think he is overwhelmingly right in urging that a more realistic psychology is necessary to the working of that complex form of state towards which we seem to be moving.

The way in which Mr. Lippmann has framed his question has already led me to alter the way in which, in a new book, I hope to explain the foundations of politics. I agree that we must take the overt acts of men as the index to the hidden or unconscious deeps beyond. Our political analysis, indeed, is not like to have the same degree of certainty that attaches to a laboratory test or a skilful psychoanalysis. There the individual can be isolated in a fashion which is not only impossible in, but is actually untrue of, his political life. But society is continually making experiments upon itself; and we can record our judgment of the motives behind them. One such judgment is Aristotle's Politics, another the Prince of Machiavelli, a third the Leviathan of Hobbes.

Now the value, I take it, of books such as these is the revelation they give us of what men of insight consider the motives to action and the state they would build upon those motives. Their argument can now be tested by a wider induction than they made and in the light of a more accurate psychology. When that is done the motives of men are seen to be more varied in character than they allowed, and the state too narrowly unified to give adequate opportunity for the creative expression of human impulses. We start with a complex of impulses—all of them strivings for the realizations of personality. We find that a state such as our own can satisfy the strivings of relatively few of its members. (Whether those strivings are complexes of McDougall's will to life, or Jung's libido or of Freud's rather narrow primordial sex impulse seems relatively unimportant.) The result is at every point repression with the manifold inversions that accompany it.

The pluralistic state takes its rise from the need to satisfy those impulses in a better way. In a unified state the ultimate emphasis is upon authority; i. e., to disagree with the government is to be wrong. The pluralistic state emphasizes freedom by distributing authority in order that there may be channels through which the individual can find the satisfaction he is unlikely to discover where one way of life only wins approval. The unified state, in short, implies repression with wastage; the pluralistic state endeavors to provide avenues of considered compensation. We must, of course, by a rigorous analysis of history discover the types of avenue which are socially advantageous. We cannot, in social life, wait, for instance, upon unanimity; but, where a rule is enforced by a majority against a minority, we seek to make the means of judgment and enforcement such that a balked disposition on that minority's part is not the result. We seek, that is to say, the means of a considered consent as the basis of political action. Anything else involves repression which is ultimately a denial of personality. Now personality is a complex thing and the institutions—religious, industrial, political, in which it clothes itself—are as a consequence manifold. The pluralistic state is an endeavor to express in terms of structure the facts we thus encounter. It asserts no primacy for any one of them because it cannot assign an a priori significance to human acts without a knowledge of their background. It thus denies the logic of sovereignty in its classical conception because that is a viciously abstract elevation of one aspect of human institutions where, at the given moment, some other may, for many, have a more poignant and compelling demand. It destroys, if you like, the sovereign state that it may preserve the personality of men.

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The briefest consideration would show the number and complexity of the things upon which decision, and therefore consent, are wanted. Historic experience, as I have tried to argue in my book, seems to demonstrate the variety of means taken by men to satisfy their best social selves. Our business is to try to make the structural expression of those selves conform to the variety they require. A federal structure of society, that is to say, is rooted in the inescapable facts of psychology.

Mr. Lippmann has made me go far afield; for he has beguiled me into compressing a book into a footnote. But I am anxious to record, along with him, my sense that the political scientists are never going seriously to grapple with their problems until (like Walter Lippmann himself and Graham Wallas) they realize the bearing of psychological discovery.

We surely cannot any longer rest content with describing the institutional forms about us. Behind them loom active men eager for experiment. We shall be judged by the response we make to their appeal. Surely we should fit ourselves for the effort.

H. J. L.

CORRESPONDENCE

Mr. Burleson and Negro Postal Clerks

SIR: All who recall what our postal service once was, before the destructive hand of the present Postmaster General was laid upon it, are thankful for Mr. William Hard's exposé of the brutal methods against postal employees which has made the Service a national irritation. There is another chapter to this current history of which Mr. Hard and many Americans do not know. That is, the treatment accorded to Negro railway postal clerks in the southern states.

To begin with, nearly all Negro clerks of long-standing service have been dropped, because of "incompetency," "reorganization of the service," or, under the ingenious "minus and plus point system." This nefarious system has been given special treatment by Mr. Hard. Of the many cases of which the writer has personal knowledge, here is a typical one: A Negro clerk in South Carolina who had given twenty-five years of efficient service and had never been disciplined was severely injured in a series of wrecks while on duty, and has been left permanently disabled. His chief clerk, although required by law to do so, made no report of the clerk's injuries, well knowing that such failure might endanger the clerk's standing in the service and prevent his collecting sick and accident insurance. Furthermore, the clerk was told that *he* need not make a report; that the chief clerk would do so promptly. The chief clerk only reported the matter when compelled to do so.

The clerk remained on the injured list, subject to duty as soon as able to report; meanwhile he received treatment in distant cities from costly specialists who endeavored to patch up his nervous system and enable him to resume his duties. Then came information from the chief clerk that "because of the reorganization of the Service and the oversupply of clerks," he would be, until further notice, "surplus clerk, without salary." At this time all injured clerks received their salaries for a year, if they remained unable to resume their duties, in lieu of a pension, which our generous government has never granted them. The chief clerk's order cut off an injured man's salary which had been specially granted for this special kind of case.

But the axe fell again. The next order said: "Because of your inability to resume your duties, you are hereby dropped from the rolls without prejudice." The "inability" having been produced by injuries received *on duty*, the reward for this faithful employee, broken in body and in spirit, was—removal from the service *without prejudice!* But the chief clerk was defeated a second time when the clerk was finally restored to the rolls through the Third Assistant Postmaster General, after vigorous protest.

The case cited is an illustration of the old "spoils system" which still exists to defeat the Civil Service and to create patronage for politicians. Every Negro clerk eliminated means a white clerk appointed. To this end, the infamous "minus and plus point system" is an ingenious device. Demerits are given for such crimes as "waste of twine," "malingering on duty," "discourtesy to the public," etc., etc. Now any Negro clerk in the South who fails to say "Sir" promptly to any white person may be guilty of discourtesy and disciplined for it, under this system. Having secured enough demerits, the clerk is finally discharged. The creation of "surplus clerks" was but another device to gain the removal of Negroes officially.

It used to be common to dismiss Negro clerks who were criminal enough to attend Republican State Conventions in the various southern states, on the ground of "pernicious activity in politics." Hon. A. H. Grimke, president of the District of Columbia Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, broke up this pleasant practice. The Association was appealed to in behalf of a South Carolina clerk who had been dismissed for such an offense. Mr. Grimke submitted that, because there is in South Carolina only one (Democratic) established political party, sustained by a "white primary" law, a Negro Republican in South Carolina *could not* be guilty of "pernicious activity in politics."

Strangely enough, in the South, white men do not apply for positions in the postal service in large numbers; on the other hand, it is to aspiring Negroes an admired profession. This has had two results: Because of the grade of intelligence of many white applicants, politicians have frequently had the Civil Service rules set aside so as to let them in en masse; while educated Negroes have successfully passed the examinations and held their positions by virtue of their efficiency, and often in spite of prejudiced officials "higher up." They have taken great pride in their profession, rivalling each other in maintaining high averages; they have acquired property and are invariably pointed out as leading men in their communities. Therefore, in order to maintain "white supremacy" in the service as well as in the South, such schemes as are outlined above have been invented to discourage aspiring colored men, who only ask to be allowed to compete for public office on equal terms with white applicants.

I began this narration by promising to give an omitted chapter to Mr. Hard's Burleson Series. Why has the chapter of the Negro railway postal clerk been omitted? Because none of the clerks' organizations which have had Mr. Hard's ear are interested in *Negro* clerks. The various protective organizations of the clerks have *themselves* discriminated against Negro clerks, refused them certain kinds of insurance, denied them a voice in their meetings

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and failed to represent them except in name. The white clerks have organizations, they have lobbyists, they have Congressmen, they have *votes*. The Negro clerks have none of these. But they have the simple faith of their race in the God who raises up Burlesons to confound their oppressors!

SON OF A NEGRO CLERK.

The Debs Case

SIR: Professor Ernst Freund's learned comments on The Debs Case and Freedom of Speech complete a very interesting cycle. We have been witnessing attacks on an unpopular decision and the court that rendered it, by an ex-Rabbi (J. L. Magnes), and by a politician (Dudley Field Malone) and now comes a constitutional lawyer with a paper. But there seems to be something peculiar about the decision that has driven each of these specialists away from his own field. The minister declared the holding unconstitutional; the politician, immoral; and now the author of Das Öffentliche Recht der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika declares that the decision was impolitic. For that is the sum total of the whole matter, according to Mr. Freund: "Toleration of adverse opinion is not a matter of generosity, but of political prudence."

A real difficulty faces each of these specialists in his own field. If a man deliberately wagers his liberty on his interpretation of the Constitution of the United States and with the best motives in the world tramples upon an act of Congress because he doesn't like it and thinks others do not like it, we may admire him for the courage of his convictions, or condemn him as a crack-brained agitator, but what basis have we for attacking the morals of the court that handed down the decision, unless we predicate that it did not believe in it as a matter of law? So the clergyman has to turn lawyer. The politician on the other hand knows that the question of policy is not a matter to be argued to the court, that the policy is dictated by the administration and perhaps even by those to whom the administration feels itself answerable and so he very rightly turns to the fundamental moral questions involved in the adoption rather than in the execution of the policy. Now what are the difficulties that induce the lawyer to turn from the discussion of law to a discussion of policy with the explanation that "in the long run sound law cannot be inimical to sound policy?" Surely he knows how little opportunity the courts have in such matters to set their pace with this long run in view.

Is not the chief difficulty simply the impossibility of accepting the thoughtless layman's definition of freedom of speech? Mr. Freund is well aware of this difficulty. "I shall not attempt," he says, "to determine what in the way of restraint is possible under the First Amendment. A narrow historic view (rather discountenanced by Justice Holmes) may confine freedom to the prohibition of censorship." Well, then, let us take a broad common-sense view. Does the First Amendment mean that no man shall be punished for the uttering of mere words? That is, I am afraid, the conception with which the average man approaches this discussion, unless he stops to think of the many, many crimes on our statute books that can be committed with no other action than speech. What is perjury? How many frauds are committed by word of mouth! Is it not true that all but one of the defendants in a conspiracy case may have limited their participation in the crime to the exchange of words? Inciting to riot can be accomplished by words alone. In fact, through the utterance of words one may become an accessory to murder or arson or any other crime, and triable in most states as a principal. On page 46 of Mr. Freund's work cited above, the matter is stated as clearly as the German language will permit:

> "Volle zivil und strafrechtliche Verantwortlichkeit für falsche, beleidigende oder sittenwidrige Äusserungen ist dadurch nicht ausgeschlossen. . . . Directe Aufforderungen zur Anwendung von Gewalt sind jedoch nach den gewöhnlichen Strafgesetzen strafbar."

Surely no one would maintain that the First Amendment shields the man who can say in such cases: "What have I done? I have merely spoken, and speech cannot be a crime under the Constitution."

Yet, is not this the very essence of most of the criticism of the Debs decision? Is it not involved in Mr. Freund's more guarded statement? "There was nothing to show actual obstruction or an attempt to interfere with any of the processes of recruiting. How can it be denied that the upholding of such a finding upon such evidence involves the question of the limits of permissible speech?

"If verbal or written opposition to the war, however violent or unwarranted, can be stretched to mean a form of obstruction, then Congress strikes at utterances as effectually through punishing obstruction as though it punished utterances directly."

The fact of the matter is that words are deeds. Almost any statute that involves the question of the limits of permissible acts, involves necessarily the limits of permissible speech. If then, the First Amendment does not give us immunity against punishment for what we say, regardless of consequences or probable consequences, what does it mean? The positive side of this question is not so easy to answer as the negative. Perhaps we may be driven after all to some "narrow historic view." A clue, however, to a common-sense answer may be discerned in the same formula, that words are deeds. The Constitution has not thrown a sanctuary around any particular class of deeds regardless of the ends they are calculated to serve. It simply prevents words from being dealt with differently from other deeds: Congress shall make no law—abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. It is conceded, I believe, that an act prohibiting the discussion of certain questions would be unconstitutional. There is a reason for this distinction, for the obvious purpose of the isolation of words from other acts as objects of special legislation is to stifle opinion in the manner proscribed by all of the other clauses of the First Amendment.

It is true that in practice there may be very little difference between a law that prohibits obstruction and one that prohibits discussion. A jury, unable according to Mr. Freund's formula to hear the voice of reason in time of war, is likely to construe honest discussion as dishonest obstruction. And dishonest obstructionists, on the other hand, are likely to hide behind the pretense of discussion. These difficulties are, however, not to be laid at the door of the Supreme Court. They are too deep-seated in human nature to be remedied by any construction of a constitutional clause, even if we assume for the sake of argument, the superiority of the French idea of the distinction between direct and indirect provocation or the Prussian expedient of the executive suspension of constitutional guarantees in the emergency of war.

[Where the Constitution establishes a political principle as it does in the First Amendment, it is inevitable that considerations of policy should be touched upon

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in discussing questions of law; and this is particularly true where the constitutional principle is so vaguely formulated that, taken literally, it means almost nothing.

Every one will admit that the Constitution places some check upon legislation regarding speech and press; and since the check is not defined in the Constitution it must be defined by interpretation which is guided by principles of political liberty. You cannot deal with the Espionage act without having some notion of what the right of free discussion demands.

I stand by this proposition which I regard as elementary: that there can be no political liberty without certainty and definiteness of political penal legislation. Apply this to the relation between words and acts (the point at issue) and it means in order that a speech may be punishable as the instrumentality of an act, the words must have a specific relation to a particular act. The doctrine of inferential provocation substitutes uncertainty for certainty, and leaves conjectural deeds to be conjured up in the imagination of a jury as the possible effect of an intent impelled to words. That may be democracy, but it is not liberty, and it has been repudiated by the most careful juristic thought given to the problem. And that portion of the American people which still believes in liberty, will not be satisfied with less than the best law upon the subject. E. F.]

Work or Fight in the South

[Mr. Joseph C. Hutto of Charlotte, N. C., has transmitted to us the following statements as throwing light on the question of the trustworthiness of the article Work or Fight in the South by Walter F. White. The first three statements appear to us to concern the matter of interpretation; the last raises an issue of fact on which we should like further enlightenment. THE EDITORS.]

Extract from letter of J. W. Parker, mayor of Pelham, Ga., with reference to charges against Pelham:

"The article from which you quote is strictly misleading. As a matter of fact both McCrary and McCoy are good Negroes and have always been held in the highest esteem by both white and colored citizens. McCrary was formerly a barber and drifted into the insurance business. He seemed to be making some money, though it is extremely doubtful that he was making any such money as the amount indicated in the article. McCoy is a carpenter and had been employed for a number of years as general repair man at the oil mill here. During last fall labor was very scarce, and, regardless of the fact that the oil mills and fertilizer plants were put on a preferred list, they were unable to operate to full capacity on account of the scarcity of labor. In attempting to force the 'Work or Fight' law, the officers found it was extremely difficult to round up the loafing Negro floaters, when prominent and influential Negroes like McCrary and McCoy were to be seen standing around the streets and riding about on trains, dressed up and with cigars stuck in the corner of their mouths. There was never any discrimination shown in the attempt to enforce this law; but you can readily see that it was necessary to apply it to men like these, if it was to be applied at all. As a matter of fact neither of these men were arrested or brought into court. McCoy continued his insurance business, giving part of his time to the oil mill and he is still employed in this way. He is a first class Negro, enjoys the confidence of everyone, and he personally does not seem to have resented in the least the fact that the officers suggested that he put in his full time into some essential industry.

Extract from letter of Dr. John E. Toole, mayor of Bainbridge, Ga., with reference to the charge against Bainbridge:

"Just after President Wilson's 'Work or Fight' edict, the mayor of Bainbridge instructed the police force to enforce the ordinance against idling and loitering more vigorously than had been heretofore. As there were so many idlers, the police got three who were not guilty. These three were so sure they were not guilty, they did not think it necessary to have any proof of such fact, and the mayor could do nothing but put a fine on them. But just as soon as he found they were innocent, he immediately remitted the fines."

Extract from a letter of G. R. Hutto, a Negro, Grand Chancellor Knights of Pythias of Georgia; Principal Negro Public Schools of Bainbridge; Negro Chairman United War Work Decatur County, and Negro Chairman Third Liberty Loan, in support of Mayor Toole's letter:

"The facts that are set out by the mayor are genuine and true. There were some arrests made for violation of the 'Work or Fight' ruling. The same created a sensation among our colored people, and there was a meeting held to look into the matter. As soon as the facts were made known to the mayor, the innocent parties were turned loose and their fines were promptly remitted.

"There has always existed a pleasant relation between the two races of our city, and we do not give sanction to the publication of any articles in any paper that tends to disturb the present relation that exists between the two races here.

"At the time the officers called to see McCrary he was sick in bed and the message was given to his wife at the door. McCrary had the 'flu' at the time and several days later contracted pneumonia and died.

"There was absolutely nothing like persecution in the dealing with these two Negroes, and any attempt to so construe the handling of the matter is maliciously misleading."

Extract from letters of T. C. Smyth, sheriff of Lake County, Fla., with reference to charges against Lake County:

"The case referred to in the attached letter was a case where several Negroes went on a strike and proposed not to let any other men work on the job. I, in company with the president of the Labor Board of Lake County went and visited the grove where the trouble seemed to have started and found all the striking Negroes gone and the trouble over.

"This is all the case that I know anything about as having been in Lake County last winter or orange season. The writer of the article is very likely acquainted with the facts as told only by the Negro side or by some sorry white person purporting to be the Negro's friend, as I positively know that the Lake County Labor Board nor anyone else took no advantage of anybody's rights in the exercise of their duty."

An Irish Irredenta

SIR: Should Italy's claim to what are properly Jugo-Slavian parts on the other side of the Adriatic be allowed, and should the Sinn Feiners' dream of an independent Irish republic be realized, would not the new Ireland logically be justified in setting up a claim to jurisdiction over Boston as a city predominantly Irish in population?

San Juan, Porto Rico. SYLVESTER BAXTER.

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The Alliance of Good Intentions

SIR: The Holy Alliance of a hundred years ago was a league of nations formed at the close of a desperate war in which an imperial aggressor had barely been defeated and crushed by the coalition of nearly all Europe against him. The purpose of that league was to prevent future wars and establish governed order among the nations; its method was that of providing for a continuous series of frequent international conferences, and for a force which should maintain existing governmental Powers.

That league was run by a Big Five of Powers, of whom the two strongest, those that during the war had been freest from foreign conquest and invasion, unquestionably went into it from high idealistic motives, while the other three were under little suspicion of being controlled by any idealism other than that of loyalty to the interests of their own states. But it is not to be doubted that all five meant well according to their lights.

The harmony between the two idealistic great Powers of that league lasted five years. The league, as an organization holding together the liberal Powers and the illiberal, lasted eight. Half of it survived as an alliance of purely reactionary Powers for the purpose of combating the progress of democracy and as such its life grew weaker and weaker for forty years more until it altogether faded out.

The reason why that league lasted only eight years and went to smash was its policy of maintaining existing governmental Powers. It was visibly and undeniably over that that it was wrecked. In practical operation that policy proved intolerable.

You will have taken notice that I am drawing a historical parallel. In some respects the parallel is not quite exact; for instance, that league did not from the outset avow the policy of maintaining the existing Powers, and when it did avow that policy the foremost liberal Power declared its dissent at once; and when they had beaten their imperial enemy, and had got in his country a new government set up in accordance with their demands, they tried to make things easy for the new government, in spite of the fact that during the war the nation had patriotically stood back of its emperor.

I do not thoroughly understand the confidence of those who feel sure that we are now starting something much better. It seems to me that they hardly realize what good intentions the founders of that league had, a hundred years ago.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

Ballard Vale, Massachusetts.

The League or Anarchy?

SIR: In your two editorials upon the Treaty in your issue of May 17th you have set forth the reasons for the overwhelming disappointment of those of us who hoped that the spirit of Wilson would prevail at Paris. Evidently he is unable to break the crusty tradition of European diplomacy; single-handed he could not prevent the diplomats from gradually twisting his principles into a peace of conquest and repression. Even the League of Nations appears to have become an engine of the victorious for enforcing peace terms that could not be carried out without compulsion. Your conclusion from the foregoing is that America must limit her obligations under the Covenant.

But you do not advise how this may be accomplished, nor discuss what might happen if such an attempt were made.

If any limitation is to be done, the Senate must do it. If the Senate separates Covenant and Treaty, and reduces America's obligations under the League, the Treaty with the amendments, must go the rounds of the signatories, undoubtedly collecting additional destructive amendments as it went, with the result that in the end there would be no League. The Covenant is a compromise, it is balanced in equilibrium. Tampering with the balance means the destruction of the League.

And the alternative to the League? International anarchy, with all its attendant evils, ending in another death struggle of scientific horrors into which America would inevitably be drawn.

You speak of partial isolation. Having for two years become mentally, physically, economically and even spiritually entangled in the affairs of Europe, I do not see how even partial isolation is possible, especially as the points of contact are ever increasing. Europe will not permit our isolation—we are too powerful an ally to be neglected.

As I see it, we have a choice between a reversion of international anarchy without a gleam of hope, and a League of Nations, guaranteeing an evil peace to be sure, but with a faint hope that through the League the settlement may be reconsidered, and that eventually the Covenant will be developed into a true charter of an association of peoples.

It would be an anomalous situation to have had the New Republic aligned with the reactionaries of the Senate in an effort to amend the Covenant with the result that it was killed altogether.

GEORGE A. WALKER.

Brookline, Massachusetts.

The Glory Is Departed

SIR: Since the first of the year I have been doing my small bit to popularize the principle, and latterly the Covenant, of the League of Nations. But now that I have read the summary of the peace treaty I am unalterably opposed both to the principle and the Covenant of the League. We knew, of course, that the League would compel us to cooperate with the other signatories in the maintenance of the decisions of the Conference but we had a right, in the light of the President's Fourteen Points and other liberal utterances, to expect those decisions to be decently humane if not entirely statesmanlike. Now we find them to be neither the one nor the other and the ratification of the League's constitution would merely make us a party to an Unholy Alliance whose chief business would be to maintain inviolable the immoral provisions of the Treaty of Peace.

MITCHELL PIRIE BRIGGS.

Fresno, California.

Grocery Stock—Liberty Bonds

SIR: Regarding the reply of Janet A. Fairbanks to my letter anent the returns upon investment in grocery stocks as compared with those upon investment in Liberty Bonds—I suggest that "reflection" yet further indulged might cause my jocund critic to perceive that other issues than "responsibility for the payment of an honorable debt" are in question.

Without risking either the tedium or the betrayal into elucidation of the obvious which would be involved in pointing out said issues, I modestly offer the matter for her further meditation.

G. O. WILKINSON.

Blythe, California.

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Books and Things

NOT long ago, in the Metropolitan Magazine, Clarence Day shied a cocoanut at old Henri Fabre. Personally I had nothing against Henri. I rather liked him. But I was extremely cheered when Clarence said publicly, "that old bird-artist, you don't have to admire him any longer." Without waiting for further encouragement I bounced Henri off the steps of my Pantheon.

Have you a little Pantheon? It is necessary, I admit, but nothing is so important as to keep it from getting crowded with half-gods. For many months my own Pantheon has been seriously congested. Most of the ancient deities are still around—George Meredith and Walt Whitman and Tom Hardy and Sam Butler—and there is a long waiting list suggested by my friends. Joseph Conrad has been sitting in the lobby for several years, hungering for a vacant pedestal, and I have had repeated applications from such varied persons as Tchekov, R. Browning, J. J. Rousseau, Anatole France, Huxley, Dante, Alexander Hamilton, P. Shelley, John Muir, George Washington and Mary Wollstonecraft. But with so many occupants already installed, with so many strap-hangers crushed in, it has been impossible to open the doors to newcomers. My gods are like the office-holders—few die and none retire. And when a happy accident occurs, like the demolition of Henri Fabre, I feel as one feels when some third person is good enough to smash the jardinière.

I was troubled by Woodrow Wilson for a while. Two or three years ago he swept into the Pantheon on a wave of popularity, and there was no excuse for turning him out. He was one of the stiffest gods I had ever encountered. His smile, his long jaw, his smoothness, made him almost a Tussaud figure among the free Lincolns and Trelawneys and William Blakes. I stood him in the corner when he first arrived, debating where to put him, but at no time did I discover a pedestal for him. Young Teddy Junior helped me to like Woodrow. So did Mr. Root and Mr. Smoot. So did Mr. Wadsworth and Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge. But what, after all, had kept Mr. Wilson from being a Republican? How did he differ intrinsically from a Henry Stimson, a Nicholas Murray Butler, a Theodore Burton? The pedestal stood gaping for him, and yet I had not the heart to enthrone him; and never shall I enthrone him now. Now I look upon him with the flat pulse and the unfluttered heart of a common and commonplace humanity. He is President, as was Taft. So is he impressive. But the expectation I had blown up for him is punctured. He would have been a god, despite all my prejudice against his styles, if at any time he had proved himself to be the resolute democrat. But the resolute democrat he was not. He was just an ordinary college president inflating his chest as well as he could, and he has to get out of my Pantheon.

This eviction of the President relieves my feelings like a good spring cleaning. To be con-structive gives me pleasure, but not half so much pleasure as to be de-structive, to cast out the junk of my former mental and spiritual habitations. A great many people are catholic. They have hearts in which Stepping Heavenward abides with Dumas and East Lynne. I envy these people and their receptive natures, but my own chief joy is to asphyxiate my young enthusiasms, to deliver myself from the bondage of loyalty.

There is Upton Sinclair. I was so afraid that I was unjust to Upton Sinclair that I almost subscribed to his weekly, and when I saw his new novel, Jimmie Higgins, I actually read it.

"My best book," Mr. Sinclair assures the world. If that is really the case, as I hope, I am happily emancipated from him forever. He is something of an artist. He converts into his own kind of music the muck-rake element in contemporary journalism. He is always a propagandist, and out of religious finance or the war or high society or the stockyards or gynecology he can distill a sort of jazz-epic that nobody can consider dull. But if one is to act on such stimulants, one ought to choose them carefully, and I'd much rather go straight to Billy Sunday than take my fire water from Upton Sinclair. Once on reading his well-known health books, I nearly fasted nine days under his influence. That is to say, I fasted twenty-four hours. The explosions of which I dreamt at the end of that heroic famine convinced me that I was perhaps a coarser organism than Mr. Sinclair suspected, and I resumed an ordinary diet. But until I had a good reason for expelling this uncomfortable idealist from my Pantheon I was always in danger of taking him seriously. Now, I am glad to say, I have a formula for him, and I am safe.

Nietzsche is the kind of sublime genius to whom Upton Sinclair is nothing but a gargoyle, yet the expulsion of Nietzsche was also required. When we used to read the New Age ten years ago, with Oscar Levy's steady derision of everything and anything not Nietzschean, I had a horrible sense of inadequacy, and I started out to read the Master's works. It was a noble undertaking but futile. Slave and worm as I was, I found Nietzsche upsetting all the other fellows in the Pantheon. He and William Blake fought bitterly over the meaning of Christianity. Abraham Lincoln disgusted him with funny stories. He was sulky with George Meredith and frigid with Balzac and absurdly patronizing to Miss Jane Addams. It pained me to get rid of him, but I voted him away.

This Olympian problem does not seem to bother men like William Marion Reedy. Mr. Reedy is the sort of human being who can combine Edgar Lee Masters and Vachel Lindsay, single tax and spiritualism, Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt. He knows brewers and minor poets and automobile salesmen and building contractors and traffic cops and publishers, and he is genuinely himself with all of them. He finds the common denominator in machine politicians and hyperacid reformers, and without turning a hair he moves from tropical to arctic conversation. He is at home with Celtic fairies and the atomic theory, with frenzied finance and St. Francis. If he has a Pantheon, and I believe he has, it must be a good deal like a Union depot, with gods coming in and departing on every train and he himself holding a glorious reception at the information booth. I am sure he can still see the silver lining to W. J. Bryan and the presidential timber in Leonard Wood. He does not make fun of Chautauqua. He can drink Bevo. He has a good word for Freud. He has nothing against Victorianism. And yet he is a man. This receptivity puzzles me. A person with such open sympathies is called upon to slave in their service, to rush here and there like a general practitioner, to sleep with a watch under his pillow and a telephone at his head. How does he find the energy to do it! I admire it. I marvel at men who understand all and forgive all, who are as omnivorous as Theodore Roosevelt, as generous and many-sided as Walt Whitman. Think of those who have a good word to say for Bonar Law. It is less democratic, I am sure, to run a hand-picked Pantheon, but it saves a lot of much-needed vitality. Give me a temple on a high hill, with a long drop down from the exit.

F. H.

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The Living Speech

The American Language, a preliminary inquiry into the development of English in the United States, by H. L. Mencken. New York: A. A. Knopf.

NEVER has the flourishing personality of H. L. Mencken been so happily exercised as in this big book on the living speech of America. In Mr. Mencken there is something of the pedant and something of the anarchist. This book is compounded of both. It is the benign pedant, voracious and systematic and indefatigible, that has accumulated and organized the large mass of material that has gone into the volume; and it is the anarchist that has breathed fire into it. This anarchist, however, is not of the sallow kind. He is jocund and expansive, a Samson in girth and a Samson to send torches among the Philistines. He delights in raciness and has no fear of the grossest barbarism, yet he is cheerfully contemptuous of what he calls the "yokelry" and the "stupid populace" and the "gaping proletariat." He believes in a law at least to the extent of ascertaining it. He uses the tools of pedantry to give himself mastery. But he steers between the populace, on one hand, and "Prof. Balderdash," on the other. The result is a work which it is a platitude to call refreshing but which is actually refreshing in the deep sense as well as the obvious.

H. L. Mencken is a pioneer. He turns on the language we habitually use the mind and the imagination of a fresh inquirer, an inquirer whose sophistication cannot be seriously questioned yet an inquirer who is not indentured to sophistication. And out of that fresh inquiry we are enabled to form a new view of our own spoken and written language. Mr. Mencken untiringly helps us to comprehend much that is obscure and irregular in the shifting courses of American expression. The living speech is a Mississippi which cannot easily be charted, but Mr. Mencken is a pilot who knows the new channels as well as the old, who steers us with the true current of the living stream. Many of us have no serene conviction in the matter of new idiom and new spelling and new locution. We grope rather blindly among the tendencies we are favoring and the tendencies we are resisting. We respond and we draw away, but we do not rationalize. Mr. Mencken comes titanically to our aid. Necessarily disregarding the prudes and the scholastic rhetoricians, he has opened his mind to receive every conceivable kind of data respecting the language now in use among the people of America, and with these usages to argue from he has created at least the beginning of an American rationale.

This does not mean that The American Language is sentimental radicalism. It is true that Mr. Mencken is hyperbolic at the beginning. He talks of the English dialect and the American dialect and he quotes someone who dwells on "the growing difficulties of intercommunication." Also he enjoys showing the enormous difference between unsophisticated American and sophisticated English, and he rather gleefully foreshadows the day when "me see she" will be common and therefore sound American usage. Without a parallel investigation of unsophisticated usages in English, I do not see how one can rest with such a conclusion. It is amusing to hurl the stink-pot of popular Americanisms among the grammarians, but Whitechapel and the Mile End Road and the Coombe and the rookeries of Glasgow could furnish similar weapons. The erosions of inflected speech are nominally more significant in America because language has a "general uniformity throughout the country," but it is one thing to produce the evidence of a common illiteracy, another thing to prove that the illiteracy is destined to supplant the corresponding literacy. "It is useless to dismiss the growing peculiarities of the American vocabulary and of grammar and syntax in the common speech as vulgarisms beneath serious notice." Yes, if the "peculiarities" are definitely growing: but the actual repetition of a misuse from mouth to mouth is only one factor in deciding its eventual triumph. Does the misuse "work"? That is the qualitative test which must be met by such lazy and illogical locutions as "me see she."

But the great distinction of Mr. Mencken's book is his "the bee stang him" pragmatic method. "There are few forms in use," he quotes Lounsbury, "which, judged by a standard previously existing, would not be regarded as gross barbarisms." This extreme statement Mr. Mencken stupendously vindicates. In all the luxurious minutiae of his inquiry there is an impartial and scholarly use of evidence, yet his work cannot help serving as an antidote to snobs and snobbishness. "The attempt to make American uniform with English has failed ingloriously; the neglect of its investigation is an evidence of snobbishness that is a folly of the same sort." These and simpler snobbishnesses are constantly corrected in his pages. Everyone knows the superior smile with which people who have the right shibboleth glance at one another when an outsider commits himself in their hearing—yet how often the right shibboleth is the index to the silliest kind of group complacency. Mr. Mencken exhibits many barbarisms such as "to ambition," "to compromit," "to happify." Right alongside them he prints words elevated to the peerage that were once similarly humble commoners. To advocate, to progress, to oppose, to derange, to appreciate (in value), lengthy, dutiable, reliable, bogus, influential, presidential—these were plebeians to start with, equally "bad form" and equally disdained. The same formalism is to be found in spelling, of course, and very often today an inherited American barbarism is cherished by the very person who shudders at a more recent one. In grammar, as Mr. Mencken says, there is also "a formalism that is artificial, illogical and almost unintelligible—a formalism borrowed from English grammarians, and by them brought into English, against all fact and reason, from the Latin." His list of popular conjugations, partly derived from Professor Ring Lardner, is a perfect museum of barbarism. It is also an extraordinary exhibition of professional zeal.

The great value of The American Language is, indeed, its sagacious thoroughness. It covers every sort of American idiosyncrasy in idiom, in spelling, in pronunciation, in grammar, in slang. To do so with piquancy was natural to Mr. Mencken, but the delight of the volume is its workmanship. And Mr. Mencken is not less marvelous in his ingenious generalizing than in his inexhaustible information.

He is not omniscient. He himself uses the archaic form 'round instead of round. He is surely not right in saying that the English vegetable marrow is the same thing as squash. He leaves out the American "ride" as an equivalent to the English "drive" (motor-ride). He says the English call a napkin a serviette and a coal-scuttle a coal-hod. Few English do. He says "diggings" is American for "habitation" whereas it is frequent English for "lodgings." Words like frisk and punk and sump and go-cart might be included to illustrate certain Americanizations. There are various Vanity Fair and Condé Nasty contributions to American—"undies" for underwear—that deserve to be noted.

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But if a few unconsidered trifles have escaped Mr. Mencken, think of what he has captured and mounted. "'I like a belt more looser 'n what this one is.' 'Well, then, why don't you unloosen it more 'n you got it unloosened?'" To have an ear for this kind of speech, to preserve and diagnose it, is to do more than study the fauna and flora of language. It is to set the foundations for a more salient national literature. For what Mr. Mencken says at the end of his fascinating and inspiring book is surely true; the American dialect is now apprehended "as something uncouth and comic. But that is the way that new dialects always come in—through a drum-fire of cackles. Given the poet, there may suddenly come a day when our theirns and would'a hads will take on the barbaric stateliness of the peasant locutions of old Maurya in 'Riders to the Sea.' They seem grotesque and absurd today because the folks who use them seem grotesque and absurd. But that is a too facile logic and under it is a false assumption. In all human beings, if only understanding be brought to the business, dignity will be found, and that dignity cannot fail to reveal itself, soon or late, in the words and phrases with which they make known their high hopes and aspirations and cry out against the intolerable meaninglessness of life." Beautifully said, and this is the flame which Mr. Mencken guards savagely from demons.

F. H.

Bismarck

Bismarck. By C. Grant Robertson, New York: Henry Holt & Co.

MR. ROBERTSON has written one of the biographical masterpieces of English historical scholarship. Less ample than Matter and Marcks, more scholarly than the hurried volume of Headlam and the brilliant journalism of Professor Munroe Smith, more fair and more critical than the masterly essay of Lenz, it is by far the most admirable portrait we possess. The scholarship is massive without assumption. The style is dignified, and if at times it tends to be a little over-elaborate, it adds to the reader's insight rather than detracts from it. No one can fail to be impressed by the supreme fairness of Mr. Robertson's portrait. Writing at a time when angry passions have done their best to destroy the serenity of science he sets down nothing in malice and nothing in undue extenuation. His picture of the background of the German problem before 1848 challenges Treitschke's famous survey and does not suffer by the comparison. It was no easy task to write in a series already made famous by Lord Charnwood's classic study of Lincoln; but Mr. Robertson has been more than worthy of that difficult ideal.

He understands that the clue to Bismarck's character lies in his religious attitude. Once he had gained a knowledge of supreme truth in the evangelistic circles of the Blanckenbergs, he became convinced that all his work was in fact the fulfillment of God's purposes. And that explains at once his cynicism and his ruthlessness. He could afford, as it seems to us, to separate ethics and politics, because what he did was in fact made right by a higher synthesis to which he alone possessed the key. He could regard all opposition as morally wrong, and therefore to be defeated at all costs, simply because opposition to himself was opposition to the chosen instrument of God. He had no cynical interpretation for his own effort; he reserved his sarcasms for the men who stood in his path. Mr. Robertson shows admirably how this sense of the divine assistance is with him at each crisis; and it is vividly present in some remarkable utterances to men like Mallet and Morier of which the sincerity is patent from the outset.

The immensity of his task is painted in firm outline by Mr. Robertson, and renewed examination of its character only increases our respect for his proportions. He sought to win unity from a chaos of facts and ideas. Wars within and without, the conflict of faith and opinion, an uncertainty of the reliance that could be placed upon the help of his master, the presence of first-class antagonists, at home and abroad, all these were in the scale against him. It is, as Mr. Robertson says, hardly to be wondered at that the more difficulties he surmounted the more convinced he should have been of the inherent truth of his religious faith. Even if we grant that in men like Roon and Moltke he was served as few statesmen have been served, every move in the drama was his own. Nothing is more convincing in Mr. Robertson's analysis than the way in which he shows how palpably the theory and its realization derive solely from Bismarck's own mind. The thought is beaten out in those solitary walks of his at Schönhausen where alone, perhaps, he was ever really happy. He succeeded because, with massive ability, he was never led for a single moment from the path of his ambition. He did not, like Louis Napoleon, let himself be led astray by a quixotic care for Italy. He was not, like Disraeli, betrayed into obvious error by the exigencies of the parliamentary system. He might tread in winding paths, but they all ultimately converged to the single goal. The breadth of his ambition was equalled by the intensity with which he pursued it. That is the main clue to political success.

The Germany he created was obviously the most potent nationalist instrument the world has ever seen. The Roman empire and the British were wider, but they lack the supreme unity of purpose he gave to his design. France had none of his administrative efficiency, or the genius for going straight to the heart of the diplomatic labyrinth. She played for the politics of prestige where Bismarck played with the politics of power. Only one man in Europe among statesmen of the first eminence perceived, as Mr. Robertson points out, his real proportions; and not even Disraeli had, before 1870, a full perception of the scale upon which Bismarck was built. Naturally enough, he was helped by circumstances; for in the fight against the second empire he fought against a monarch broken by disease and in the fight against Austria he battled against an historical illusion. But when he is measured against the statesmen and diplomats of his time, it is obvious that only Cavour among the one and Morier among the others could have coped with his competence and his determination; and neither worked upon the same massive canvas. There, indeed, in the period from the Revolution to our own day, Napoleon alone is greater than he. For, after all, from nothing Napoleon became the synonym of Europe; and Bismarck was free from an English blockade and Pitt's immeasurable subsidies. The state has something of the same character to each; but the state Napoleon brought into being was his own creation where Bismarck was the adapter of ideas that were already known. Nor did the German compete for sheerly ruthless power with Napoleon when it came to the ultimate test; for, as he himself said, it was necessary to make a little Canossa. But Napoleon put the Church in his pocket; and it was only Frenchmen like Lamennais and de Maistre who could revive it.

The future of Germany in the time after him, says Mr. Robertson, is Bismarck's true memorial. Assuredly we

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cannot yet measure the full significance of his achievement. Yet certain large outlines of the historic judgment already begin to make themselves visible, and they do not write an acquittal upon his tomb. He was Machiavelli's Prince in action. He deliberately deserted the side of the angels, and in the perennial conflict between order and liberty he did not hesitate to offer freedom as a hapless victim upon the altar of his success. "He had," says Mr. Robertson, "an appetite for order and discipline," and it should be in honesty set down that his appetite was inexhaustible. He deliberately set at nought the accepted conventions of civilization. He practised the morality of the criminal in the name of statesmanship. Where he could not answer, he imprisoned. He was false at every stage to the goddess of reason. He taught a state which had already worshipped the achievements of Frederic the Great that the humble virtues are the attributes of cowardice. Patriotism became the abnegation of mind and body and soul to the great monster of power. He thought strength more honorable than virtue and truth was but a jest for the marketplace. He had no faith in mankind, no respect for them, or reverence or love. The splendor of human personality was a secret he never discovered; to him, as Mr. Robertson well says, the first sin was independence. He could be mean and insincere, petty and vulgar, jealous and cruel. He committed, throughout his career, that which to a democratic state must be the most dangerous of all errors, the belief in his indispensability. The cause for which he was fighting and the methods by which he fought had little relation to the forces which made, even in his own age, for the happiness of men. He fought Marx and Engels, Lassalle and Liebknecht; even when he stole their weapons he perverted them. He took a liberalism which, even in the atmosphere of Prussia, was trying to be liberal, and prostituted it to a vulgar intrigue. No portion of his talent was harnessed to the ideals of good by which alone a nation can serve the world as a whole.

It was his own master Hegel who has somewhere pointed out that every affirmation brings with it its own denial. The ironic forces of history have their own poetic justice and Bismarck's work has paid the full penalty for its character. The man who supplanted the gentle Grimm and the international Ranke with the drum and trumpet of Droysen and Treitschke debauched a whole nation in his progress. For the worship of unity is in fact the foster parent of fear. A people which, like Germany, has been fed on the blood and iron of power will in the end seek the enforcement of its strength, even though it break the heart of all the world. It is possible enough that Bismarck would not have been guilty of the errors that have ruined his pupils; but he then should not have left an Ulysses' bow to lesser men. The pupils knew nothing of the difficulties that had convinced him of the need for his methods. On the contrary, they regarded those methods as the eternal principles of political enquiry. They did not see that where Bismarck had made Germany strong their problem was to make her free. They did not see that he had brought a whole people to maturity and could no longer postpone, save by the deliberate misuse of civilization, the implications of that development. Fear and greed and a disbelief in human goodness made them the urgent exponents of real politik, and where real politik becomes in itself an end it will overwhelm the state in disaster. For real politik will pay only so long as it conceals from the mass of men its repugnance to the human virtues. For the truth is that, in the end, the ideologues are the only persons who are certain of victory, since they alone have the weapons of that world in which there is no death. Bismarck may have convinced the Germany of his time that the idealists were mistaken; but he neglected to convince Europe. And it was to that figure for whom above all he would have had contempt that, in the end, the victory came. Karl Marx, while Bismarck was watching the great scene in the Hall of Mirrors, may well have seen the vision it presaged. Certainly in the end it was not he who was destined to remain in exile.

H. J. L.

The Pelicans

The Pelicans, by E. M. Delafield. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

IT is Sunday afternoon in Bronx Park. A thin yellowish tailor is taking his well-starched baby for a walk. He stops to read a notice; she sidles away from the nervous hand. She is perhaps five feet away when he yells "Come here!" in a voice of raucous anger. She continues the research individual, deaf to more violent commands. Then outraged authority grips the small white thing shaking wail after wail out of it until fear mingles with the wild note of coerced personality.

This sort of conflict of wills is the theme of The Pelicans. Miss Delafield has chosen the more appealing scene of rural England and the politer personalities of the upper middle class, but it is the same question of the oldest authority in the world vs. the squealing self-determination of its children. Not a new aspect of life to write about, but striking in the way Miss Delafield has done it. She does not place youth at the centre of the stage with a mere background of refractory parents or elders. She gives her witty and intelligent attention to both. More to the parents, in fact, for the most disturbingly alive characters of the book are the three mothers, Bertha Tregaskis, Nina Severing and Lady Argent.

It is their children who provide events by fretting to go abroad when they are told to stay at home, by marrying without approval, by turning Catholic or remaining Protestant in exact opposition to parental wishes, but it is the solemnity of the human animal as parent and guardian of youth that chiefly engages Miss Delafield's ironic perceptions.

The result is a record of arresting conversations. Most vividly mirrored in the stream of talk is Bertha Tregaskis, inflexibly competent and boisterously kind, the sort of woman whose heart of gold is frequently referred to by friends and enemies alike. She runs mothers' meetings and model dairies and other people's lives and probably has an up-to-date desk calendar with little red mottoes for every day. When her children rise up and do not call her blessed, but escape from her control into marriage or convents, she is honestly puzzled as well as grieved. At no time would she have had other than a desire to reform the Old Testament methods of the Bronx tailor. She would laugh at the idea that her fondness for sheltering the poor and the orphan—for the grateful dependent and the well exercised child—had any root in her primal will to power. She would deny any such ungodly will. In one of her verbal duels, disguised as heart-to-heart talks, with Nina Severing, she puts it as her frank opinion of "careless, selfish" youth that: "It's all give, give, give, on our side, and all take, take, take, on theirs. I feel rather like an unfortunate pelican feeding its young, sometimes."

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Nina Severing likes this point of view. She can use it in the squabble that is forever sputtering between her and her son. Nina is golden and languid and her own perpetual incense-swinger. She likes herself best as the exotic foil to Bertha's robust efficiency, and she keeps her son at home as an actor might like to keep a continuous audience. Were Nina in America she would see to it that Morris wore a white carnation on Mothers' Day. Both are equally lost in their own thin emotions, but Nina's involuted selfishness has the advantage of being able to wrap itself in the majestic folds of the Fourth Commandment; brought down to date, of course, but only a few social strata removed from heavy-handed parenthood.

Yet the Pelicans is not written around the crude formula that all elders employ their status to gratify primitive impulses by pruning the lives of the young within their power. Lady Argent, for example, whose conversation flows to incoherent kindliness and "so wonderful" and "so touching," would never presume to control her strong-minded son except in prayers for his conversion to the Faith, into which she has so happily drifted. Still, as it is plain that Lady Argent has no more need to restrain her will-to-power than has a dear kind marshmallow, perhaps she too is only an illustration of a thesis caught here and there in The Pelicans—that having a child doesn't necessarily mean having a change of one's original heart, or mind.

This holds up a lantern to the essential humanity of mothers. The fact that Miss Delafield has chosen to let her light shine most brightly on the human desire to clothe its will in all the traditional sanctity it can clutch is what makes her book unusual. It is unusual too for its beautiful and subtle analysis of a young girl's conversion to Catholicism and her rapturous convent novitiate, but aside from this one instance of Frances Grantham the youthful characters are surprisingly insipid and unreal. It is clear that Miss Delafield's art is at its best when it verges on caricature,—a little broad, a little staccato, but vividly and cruelly observant.

S. T.

Ten Days that Shook the World

Ten Days That Shook the World, by John Reed. New York: Boni & Liveright.

HISTORY in the first person has the defects of fiction in the first person. The narrative is broken into bits, and events and personalities are thrown out of proportion, because the observer is limited in fiction by the probabilities, and in history by the exigencies of transportation, armed guards, and all the other barriers to omnipresence. Ten Days That Shook the World gives the effect of a series of fragments. No doubt it is to the credit of John Reed as a reporter that it does so. He walked near the centre of the Russian storm, noting with accuracy and zest details of the blowing to splinters of the institutions of medieval Petrograd. He makes no attempt to synthesize the happenings; his sentences are so lacking in consecutiveness that, in the first part of the book at least, he seldom uses one period without using four. These strings of periods may be taken as his unuttered yet obvious comment. His enjoyment of the scene is implicit in every line, but it is seldom that he allows himself an invidious or hurrahing adjective.

Yet though the narration does not and could not move forward in conventional story-fashion it lacks nothing in the way of dramatic incident. The writer had the intrepidity and the luck to participate in some of the most spectacular occurrences of the days when the Bolsheviki came into power. He entered the Winter Palace with the Bolsheviki when it was taken without a struggle by undisciplined, uncaptained men; and he sat through the extraordinary first session of the Second Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, a session that opened to the first shock of cannon in the city, and continued through a maddening, tumultuous whirl of argument and confusion to a crisis of proof that the army had come over to Lenin. Less climactic but no less interesting is his description of the gathering of the Peasants' Congress and its slow drift from determined opposition to support of the Bolshevik programme. Out of the multitude of similar events the fall of the Winter Palace stands out as most representative of revolutionary Russia and truest to the soberly indomitable spirit then uppermost. "After a few minutes of huddling there, some hundreds of men, the army seemed reassured and without any orders suddenly began again to flow forward. By this time, in the light that streamed out of all the Winter Palace windows, I could see that the first two or three hundred men were Red Guards, with only a few scattered soldiers. Over the barricade of firewood we clambered, and leaping down inside gave a tremendous shout as we stumbled on a heap of rifles thrown down by the yunkers who had stood there. On both sides of the main gateway the doors stood wide open, light streamed out and from the huge pile came not the slightest sound. Carried along by the eager wave of men we were swept into the right-hand entrance, opening into a great, bare, vaulted room, the cellar of the east wing, from which issued a maze of corridors and stair-cases."

As they proceeded up the stairs they were disarmed by the troops of the Provisional government, until, attaining a majority by constant arrivals they were able to turn the tables and disarm their captors. Then wandering aimlessly through the deserted rooms, many of the Red Guards filled their pockets with valuables. Somebody raised a cry of "Revolutionary discipline! Property of the people!" Still the looting went on. A group formed itself into a committee to search every man leaving the palace; the rooms were cleared, not by order but by persuasion, and as the victors filed out they were relieved of all property obviously not their own. Along with the Red Guard came defenders of the palace, asking their liberty. When they had given up their booty and had promised to fight no more against the people they were allowed to go. Later a number of them were found among the defenders after the bitter clash at the Telephone Exchange. "Ah, these Russians," was the remark of a French officer, "they are original! What a civil war! Everything except the fighting!" It was not until the Red Guards had learned the implacable temper of the old regime that they could bring themselves to take lives or even prisoners.

The November overturn was psychological. No man and no party was in charge of Russia, and nobody could take charge until the people themselves had been won over to a programme. Hence the battle of proclamations from Kerensky, the Railway Brotherhood, the Mensheviki, the Socialist Revolutionaries, and the Bolsheviki. Hence the pleading, denouncing, ubiquitous newspapers, whose editors seem never to have slept, and the "permanent sessions" of committees. To gain or lose an hour might mean defeat or victory; the opportunity for decisive strategy might pass in the night. Speakers staggered from platforms drunk with fatigue. It was a contest in sleeplessness. Meanwhile the mercantile houses opened as usual in the morning; the

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M. A.

Driftwood, by James Latimer McLane, Jr., Boston: The Four Seas Co.

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CORRECTION

We regret that the poem "Song for Worship" in the issue of May 10th was signed Ethel Hobart. The author is Louis Grudin.

Contributors

PERCY BOYNTON, professor of English at the University of Chicago; received his education in this country, the author of London in English Literature, and associate editor of the English Journal.

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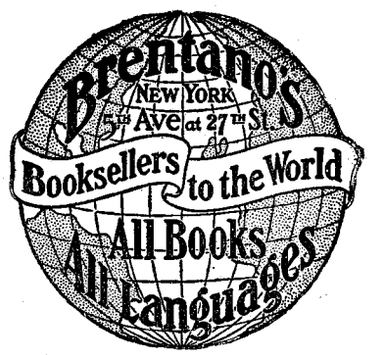

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